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ABSTRACT

A study of the use of the Maori language among residents of the North Island of New Zealand drew on data from interviews with members of 6,470 Maori families over the period 1973-1979. Over 6,915 heads of household gave data concerning their knowledge of the language, their use of it in a variety of situations, and their attitudes and experiences related to the language. In addition, they contributed information about the age, tribal and sub-tribal membership, residential history, education, and knowledge of oral and written Maori of all members of their households. The resulting working paper summarizes this information. Chapters address these issues: domains of language use; registers; structural changes in Maori since the arrival of English; stages of language loss and revival; the Maori experience in a number of periods of history (World War I, the Great Depression, World War II, Post-War Deconstruction); language preferences; the situation in the 1970s; and more recent trends. Appended materials include a list of aspects of the Maori language used in the communities surveyed and summaries of survey data. Contains 17 references. (MSE)

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THE MAORI LANGUAGE: DYING OR REVIVING?

A Working Paper Prepared for the East-West Center Alumni-in-Residence Working Paper Series

Richard A. Benton

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THE MAORI LANGUAGE: DYING OR REVIVING?

A Working Paper Prepared for the East-West Center
Alumni-in-Residence Working Paper Series

Richard A. Benton

New Zealand Council for Educational Research
Wellington
1997

New Zealand Council for Educational Research
Box 3237
Wellington
New Zealand

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INTRODUCTION

The data on which this paper is based have come mainly from interviews conducted between 1973 and 1979 with members of 6,470 Maori families throughout the North Island of New Zealand. A total of 6,915 household heads took part in the survey, supplying extensive information about their knowledge of the language, their use of it in a variety of situations, and their attitudes and experiences related to the language. In addition, they contributed information about the age, iwi [tribal] and hapu [sub-tribal] membership, residential history, education, and knowledge of oral and written Maori of all members of their households, thus expanding the coverage of the survey to 33,338 individuals.

A variety of financial and technical problems related to the provision of research assistance and computing facilities prolonged both the initial data processing and the subsequent analysis of the material collected. All the interviews were open ended, and although some of the responses were easily quantifiable, many were not. Some of the quantifiable data required considerable care and cross checking. For example, information about childhood residence, iwi and hapu membership, schools attended, and occupation required the mastery of complex codes and familiarity with the appropriate classification system. An attempt to process the data on a personal computer, to save heavy mainframe computing costs, delayed the bringing together of the whole corpus in a single dataset.

In the years between 1979, when the last fieldwork in the major survey was completed, and 1991, when the East-West Center enabled me to spend six months in Honolulu as the Sumi Makey Alumni in Residence Fellow for 1990/91, many aspects of the data had been looked at and published, and a number of follow-up studies had been completed. However, the published material was based on horizontal and vertical slices of selected portions of the material; it had never been possible to look at just anything one wanted to in relation to anything or everything else. The technical breakthrough seemed imminent in mid-1990 when I applied for the fellowship, and, although there were the usual predictably unexpected problems in transferring the data from the mainframe to PC format, by the time I left for Hawaii in May it seemed that all I would have to do was send my research assistant details of the runs I wanted done, and receive within a week or so the results on disk or by e-mail. For a variety of technical and logistical reasons, in which Murphy's Law seemed to figure prominently once again, this proved a forlorn hope.

However, when it became clear, after several months of anxious waiting, that the expected printouts would not be arriving, Dr Barry Barnes, one of my neighbours in the Institute for Culture and Communication, where my office was situated, offered to let me use his Macintosh FX II computer to process my data through SPSS. This generous offer saved the project. It meant, of course, that I had to be my own research assistant, converting the datasets from IBM format, and in several cases reconstructing the datasets from other files because the subsets had become corrupted, as well as re-learning how to use SPSS. However, the result has been that now, for the first time, an integrated dataset exists (occupying 6 megabytes of space on Barry Barnes' computer), and it is possible to look at the whole as well as the parts.

This working paper is a preliminary report on what the data reveal about the state of the Maori language in the 1970s. It carries the title, and follows the general format of an Opening Address I gave to the Sixth New Zealand Linguistics Conference in 1985. However almost all the data in this paper are new, the product of intensive use of Dr Barnes's Macintosh since the integrated dataset was assembled early in October 1991, the last month of my stay with the East-West Center, and of course work on the more accessible material earlier in the year. Some of this was presented in my lecture in the East-West Center Association's 1991 Summer Lecture series, and is mentioned briefly in the final section of this paper.

CAVEATS

It must be emphasised that the data presented in this paper about the state of the Maori language in various regions and localities, among iwi and within various age groups apply primarily to the people who participated in our survey, unless explicitly stated otherwise. In order to save endless repetition, I have only occasionally qualified blanket statements with phrases like "according to our informants", or "among the people in our sample", but the reader should nonetheless keep them in mind. We have discussed the results of the survey, as they have become available, with people from these various communities and groups, and individual reports outlining the main findings for each community have been prepared and distributed. The feedback we have received gives us considerable confidence that most of our findings can validly be generalized beyond the people who contributed the data. However, this may not always be the case, and thus all the usual cautions in leaping from the particular to the general should be applied to the discussions which follow, even when a warning sign is not displayed.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am deeply appreciative of the opportunity which the East-West Center Association and the Center itself, as sponsors and administrators of the Alumni-in-Residence Fellowships, have given me to spend six months in Honolulu doing the research and writing of which this paper is a part. I was particularly pleased to have been awarded the Sumi Makey Fellowship. Mrs Makey is deeply respected and loved by the many former grantees who were at the Center in its formative years. She and her associates were never simply administrators. Their caring attitude and close personal interest in the concerns of the people for whom they were responsible did far more to advance the Center's mission of facilitating understanding between East and West than any formal program could have accomplished. Among them they created and maintained an atmosphere in which cultural and technical interchange between people from very different backgrounds could flourish at a very personal level. I believe that the loyalty and affection which people of my "era" feel towards the Center is a direct result of the devotion which people like Sumi Makey and Rose Nakamura brought to their jobs.

I have already acknowledged my debt to Barry Barnes. Without his intervention, I would have been able to accomplish very little of what I had intended during my tenure of the Fellowship. There are many other people who have helped to ensure that my stay at the Center has been both pleasant and productive. Gordon Ring and June Sato of the Alumni Office, their secretarial assistants Gidget Tsui and Nancy Morrison, together with Dean Sara Miyahira, Gerry Finin, Gregory Trifonovitch, Donna Dale, Fusae Uyemura and Dorothy Izumi of Student Affairs and Open Grants have always been both welcoming and helpful. Dr Betty Buck of ICC very kindly allowed Nena and me to use her office, together with the amazing collection of interesting books lining its walls, for the whole of our stay.

Other people at the East-West Center and the University of Hawaii have also been very helpful in a variety of ways, and I have discussed many topics with them, including my interest in the electronic transfer of information as an adjunct to language revitalization. I will omit most of these from the list, however, because they have not been involved directly in the project reported here, and because I am almost sure to leave some worthy person out inadvertently. I must however thank five other people at ICC: Joyce Gruhn for making us feel welcome from the time we first appeared on the fourth floor of Burns Hall and Sadako Miyamoto for taking endless messages when we were out, cheerfully passing them on when we returned to the office, Benji Bennington for providing us with accommodation when our finances were running low, Geoffrey White, for his interest in our work and for including us in the Pacific Studies barbecue circle, and Michael Macmillan, for many conversations about computing problems. Dr Cluny MacPherson of the Department of Sociology at Auckland University, who was a Rockefellow Fellow with the Center for Pacific Studies for much of the time we were here, also merits special thanks for his continued personal and professional assistance.

My wife Nena has supported this research both directly as co-director of the original project, and indirectly by putting aside her own work at critical times to facilitate the completion of this report. Most of my research has been a family affair, and this paper is no exception. Our son James has taken the manuscript and the related spreadsheets and twice combined the graphs and text to produce the published version (when our recently acquired 386SX computer broke down and had to be sent to Texas for servicing before the file, too large to be backed up, could be printed, we had to re-do everything in New Zealand, in a different format and using another program). Finally, our friends Precy Espiritu, Paul Fox and Vicky Bunye generously provided us with accommodation and transport during our last week in Honolulu. To these, and the many other people who have not been mentioned by name, we say mahalo and aloha nui loa.

Honolulu, Hawaii
October 22, 1991

Wellington, New Zealand
November 4, 1991

THE MAORI LANGUAGE -- DYING OR REVIVING?

> *For now, the Maori language is like the korotangi[1] of old: we cannot be sure whether it is alive, dead, or has already turned into stone.*

This ambiguous statement concluded the first summary report of the 1973-8 sociolinguistic survey of Maori language use (R.Benton 1978), presented in an address to a meeting of Maori studies faculty in New Zealand universities soon after the fieldwork was completed. A decade later, much of the data obtained in that survey (which covered some 33,000 individuals in almost 6,500 households) had yet to be analysed. However, the information from the survey which has become available since 1978[2], the results of subsequent studies, and the political and social milieu in which the research itself on the status of Maori had an important formative role, all indicate that any question about the state and status of the Maori language will generate many more questions, including questions about these questions themselves. What, for example, is the Maori language, and how dead is dead where languages like Maori are concerned?

We can get around the first of these supplementary questions by saying that, for heuristic purposes, the Maori language is the set of dialects and idiolects, spoken or written, derived from the speech-forms of the pre-colonial inhabitants of New Zealand, and commonly regarded as "Maori" by their speakers, in contradistinction to "English" and other languages (however defined) spoken or used in that country. The vagueness of this definition (despite its legalistic phrasing) is unavoidable; the boundary between "Maori" and "not Maori", linguistically or culturally, no longer admits of fine distinctions. However, there is an important qualification to the definitions of both Maori and New Zealand that must be made clear at the outset to anyone reading this paper: the data were collected only in the North Island. What is said about "Maori" and "New Zealand", therefore, applies strictly to the North Island only. However, the South Island Maori had been subjected earlier and even more intensively to the pressures for linguistic change that are outlined here, and the assimilation to English monolingualism seems to have been completed in many South Island communities, smaller and more isolated from each other than those in the North, when the process was just getting under way in most of the communities covered by this report.

As to the second question, Nancy Dorian and other writers on the morbidity and mortality of languages have clearly identified symptoms of their terminal decline (cf. Dorian 1981, 1989). These symptoms include loss of function, on the one hand, and marked structural changes in the form of the language on the other. Two aspects of loss of function are the disuse of the threatened language in certain domains, and a marked reduction in the variety of styles or registers used by speakers of the language when interacting with each other. A language is pronounced "dead" when the last person to learn it as a child expires. There is a little more hope for languages in this condition than for people, however, in that a language may be revived (after death, or "revitalized" while there are still adult native-speakers around) when a community decides to make it once more the main language for the next generation. This possibility will be explored briefly later.

DOMAINS

The survey of Maori language use in the 1970s obtained data on the languages used in six domains by the heads of Maori households: home and family; work; school; neighborhood; religion; and the marae[3]. In addition, questions relating to general language preference may be regarded as representing an affective domain, and those relating to reading and writing, the domain of literacy. The non-use, or minimal use of a language in any given domain is not in itself an indication that the language is threatened with extinction. Throughout recorded history, the language of formal education has often been quite different from the language of the home, for example, without any ill-effect on the latter, in the short term at least. It is only when a new language replaces the old one in a domain where the old one had formerly been well-established that there is a clear danger signal.

Although Maori had been the main language of formal education for Maori people until the 1850s, it had been replaced by English at the primary and secondary school level, as a result of government policy, well before the turn of the century (cf. Barrington & Beaglehole 1974; Benton 1981). Thus, for at least three generations before the survey was conducted, English had been the dominant language of the school for all New Zealanders. In many North Island Maori communities, however, Maori had remained the dominant language in the other domains mentioned, with the partial exception of "work", at least until the 1950s. "Work" was problematic, because the language used by Maori-speakers would for a long time have depended very much on the location and nature of the workplace, and the linguistic background of the clientele, fellow-workers, and superiors. However, a discernable trend towards English in the other domains would indicate that Maori was losing its viability as a fully functioning community language.

The responses overall to questions about language use from the 4136 household heads we interviewed who were fluent speakers of Maori (summarized in Table 1) revealed only two domains where Maori was still generally secure, the formal aspects of marae procedures, and (less markedly) certain religious observances. Even on the marae, however, when what the people interviewed reported concerning their elders was compared to their own choice of language use, it appeared that English had gained a substantial toehold.

Religion and the marae also featured prominently in linguistically ambiguous situations: that is, types of encounters or events where neither English nor Maori was dominant. These included informal conversations on the marae, and church services attended by the people interviewed. If the domain of "home" was split into one's family of origin and one's current family, the extent of linguistic change within the lifetimes of these fluent speakers became strikingly apparent: interactions with grandparents and parents had been very strongly linguistically Maori for most people, interactions with their brothers and sisters somewhat less so. In contrast, there were no strongly Maori areas of activity within the immediate family of orientation for most people. Interactions with friends and visitors were seldom predictably Maori. Children, although often spoken to in Maori, were much more likely to respond in English, and English also dominated interactions with grandchildren. Education and literacy were dominated by English, and although a small majority of the fluent speakers preferred Maori for conversation, only a quarter of them stated an unambiguous preference for Maori as a language for reading and writing.

Table 1

Language Use and Experience of Fluent Speakers of Maori

DOMAINS/SITUATIONS IN WHICH MAORI WAS OR HAD BEEN THE DOMINANT LANGUAGE

	Main language used:		
	Maori	Both	English
Marae - Formal			
Whaikorero (Kaumatua)	92.6%	7.2%	0.2%
Whaikorero (Informant)	81.5%	13.0%	5.5%
Marae - Informal			
Chatting (Kaumatua)	82.0%	17.1%	0.9%
Religion			
Grace at meals	54.0%	17.7%	28.3%
Silent prayer	59.2%	15.5%	25.3%
Prayers for the sick	61.4%	16.7%	21.9%
Opening prayers (Informant)	61.8%	17.7%	20.5%
Opening prayers (General)	56.6%	26.9%	16.4%

	Main language used:		
	Maori	Both	English
Home (Family of origin)			
By grandparents	88.6%	9.0%	2.5%
To grandparents	80.2%	10.6%	9.2%
By parents	67.7%	24.4%	7.9%
To parents	66.4%	18.3%	15.4%
By tuakana[4]	50.7%	25.6%	23.8%
To tuakana	50.6%	25.3%	23.8%
By tuahine/tungane[5]	48.4%	25.6%	26.0%
To tuahine/tungane	48.4%	25.8%	25.8%
To teina[6]	48.8%	25.0%	26.2%
By teina	48.1%	25.5%	26.4%
Preference			
Conversation	53.5%	27.1%	19.4%

LINGUISTICALLY AMBIGUOUS DOMAINS/SITUATIONS

	Main language used:		
	Maori	Both	English
Religion			
Services	45.6%	34.9%	19.5%
Sermons	45.6%	37.7%	16.7%
Marae - Informal			
Chatting at a hui	45.3%	43.8%	10.9%
Home and family (Present)			
To visitors	5.6%	78.3%	16.1%
With friends	14.6%	59.4%	26.0%
To children at home	10.5%	42.6%	46.9%
To children living elsewhere	14.5%	37.5%	48.1%
Neighborhood			
With neighbors	15.4%	41.8%	42.8%
School			
In the playground	31.1%	25.7%	42.3%
Literacy			
Reading books	5.3%	44.9%	49.8%
Preference			
Reading	28.2%	22.7%	49.1%
Work			
To workmates	8.1%	49.0%	42.9%
With clients etc.	3.6%	58.3%	38.0%

DOMAINS/SITUATIONS IN WHICH ENGLISH WAS OR HAD BEEN THE DOMINANT LANGUAGE

	Main language used:		
	Maori	Both	English
School			
In class	1.9%	4.7%	93.3%
To teacher	4.1%	7.4%	88.6%
Literacy			
First language read	20.6%	3.8%	75.7%
First language written	18.9%	3.6%	77.5%
Reading papers & magazines	3.6%	34.4%	62.0%
Preference			
Writing	26.7%	22.5%	50.7%
Workplace			
To supervisor	4.4%	19.0%	76.6%
Neighborhood			
To other people's children	5.8%	31.5%	62.6%
By other people's children	3.6%	27.3%	69.2%
With shop assistants	3.3%	19.0%	77.7%
Home and family (Present)			
To grandchildren	13.3%	35.9%	50.8%
By children living elsewhere	9.5%	5.7%	64.9%
By children at home	6.2%	26.3%	67.5%
By grandchildren	4.0%	18.2%	77.8%

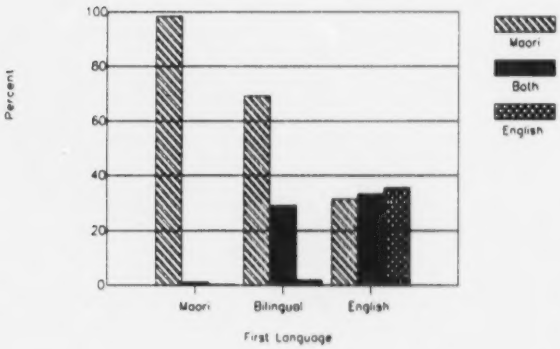
The general figures summarize a much more complex situation. If the fluent speakers of Maori are divided into those whose first language was Maori[7], those who acquired Maori and English at the same time, and those whose first language was English, there are striking differences in attitudes, experience and language use. Not surprisingly, perhaps, the native speakers tended to be more "Maori" in their orientation. They had experienced a mainly English school system, like everyone else, and lived mostly in areas where English dominated business activities and interactions with children -- however their homes were more likely to be bilingual, and less than half spoke only English to their grandchildren. The other two groups, however, perhaps more representative of the new generation, lived in an English-dominated world. The differences between the groups in their uses of Maori and English respectively, and of their exposure and attitudes to Maori in different situations are illustrated in the accompanying graphs.

Language Use in Various Situations.

These graphs show the percentages of fluent speakers of Maori from three language backgrounds who used or had used mainly Maori, both Maori and English, or English only in five social settings: to grandparents, to their own children, with friends, when saying the opening prayer at a meeting, and in formal oratory on the marae. The language backgrounds are Maori as the first language spoken (N=2860), both Maori and English as first languages (N=195), and English alone as the first language (N=1065). The calculations represented in the graphs exclude missing cases. The latter form a significant proportion only in the case of marae oratory, as half the total sample and 77.5% of the native speakers of English had not delivered a formal speech on the marae.

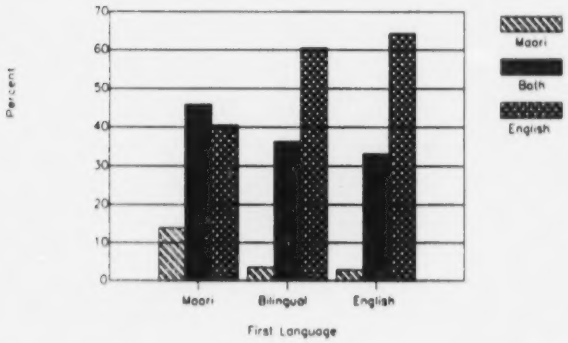
Language Spoken to Grandparents

(Fluent Maori Speakers)



Language Spoken to Children at Home

(Fluent Maori Speakers)



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Nonetheless, even for native-speakers of Maori and their families, it was clear that Maori was being displaced by English in most aspects of everyday life. The domains of literacy, the workplace, the neighborhood, and, most seriously, the family were overwhelmingly English linguistically. Although, for example, almost 70 percent of the 6470 households visited in the course of the survey were headed by at least one fluent speaker of Maori, in only 170 (4.2 percent) of the 4090 households with resident children was the youngest child fluent in the language. It was clear that Maori was, by the 1970s, playing only a very marginal role in the upbringing of Maori children, and that, if nature were left to take its course, Maori would be a language without native speakers with the passing of the present generation of Maori-speaking parents.

This contraction of the domains in which Maori was likely to be used naturally had not gone unnoticed by speakers of the language. One of the people interviewed in a follow-up survey[8] in 1984 remarked:

> I still reckon there's something wrong with Maori because speakers go over the same thing; if they want to get something across they speak English 'cause they haven't kept up with the times.

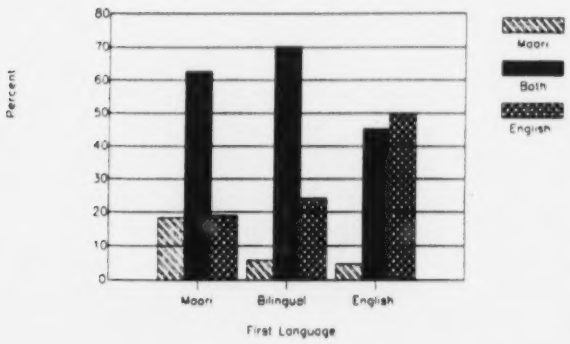
The ability of Maori to "keep up with the times" had of course been greatly impeded by its exclusion from the domain of formal education a century before. The immediate effect of this was slight, but the long-term, cumulative effect disastrous, especially on the maintenance and development of literacy in Maori, and thereby the continued modernization of the language.

REGISTERS

Along with the loss of domains in which the language was secure, it is almost certain that there was a corresponding contraction in the styles of language in which fluent speakers could operate comfortably. One symptom of this is the smaller percentage of fluent speakers of Maori who had English as their first language who spoke on the marae -- a little less than a third of those whom we interviewed in depth, compared with just over half the native speakers. This was not just a difference in age; many elderly Maori had acquired English before Maori. About a third of those who had English as their first language but did speak on the marae also said they occasionally or usually spoke in English on ceremonial occasions, compared with less than a seventh of the native speakers of Maori. The domain of the marae, or at least the ceremonial aspects

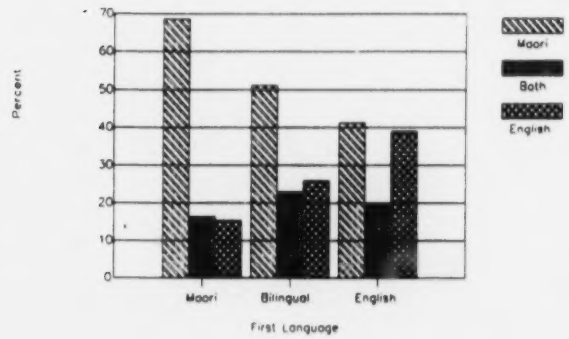
Language Spoken to Friends

(Fluent Maori Speakers)



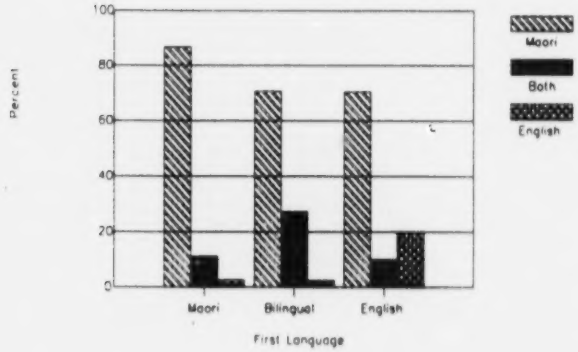
Language Used in Opening Prayers

(Fluent Maori Speakers)



Language Used in Marae Oratory

(Fluent Maori Speakers)



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of language use on the marae, was thus, at the time, still securely Maori linguistically, but many individuals who were likely to be called upon to speak on the marae were not.

Similarly, the exclusion of Maori from formal education, and particularly from the teaching and learning of contemporary subject matter for so long, made it easier for even otherwise fluent speakers of Maori to discuss and write about many practical and theoretical issues in English. At the same time, the virtual exclusion of Maori from radio and television and the obstacles to establishing Maori-speaking communities in urban settings, had made it difficult for learners of the language to become or remain familiar with a wide range of colloquial styles. We have no direct evidence of this in our data, but much indirect evidence in the form of information about language preferences and language use in the neighborhood and within the circle of family and friends.

STRUCTURAL CHANGES

Again, our survey did not explicitly inquire into the nature of contemporary Maori, and there are still no comprehensive published investigations of contemporary colloquial Maori (in contrast to several wide-ranging studies of formal, oratorical or "classical" varieties of the language). It is unclear at present where the boundaries between English and Maori lie in everyday Maori speech. Sentences such as these, for example, from interviews conducted in one follow-up study in the mid-1980s admit of a variety of analyses, depending on the weight one gives to concepts such as "code switching" as against "pidginization", lexical and grammatical "borrowing", and so on:

> *Big advantage mena e môhio ana nga mâtua ...*
> [It's a big advantage when the parents know Maori]

> *Pai ana mo nga tamariki learning marae situations.*
> [Learning what to do on the marae is good for the children]

Aspects of what appears to be structural change in contemporary Maori, as well as "code-switching" phenomena, have been commented on by a number of linguists (e.g. Hohepa 1969, Benton 1980, 1991, Harlow 1991, Eliasson 1989), but the degree to which these data apply to the "language", as against the productions of individual speakers, is far from clear.

Figure 1
Stages of Language Loss and Language Revival

STAGES OF LANGUAGE LOSS AND REVIVAL

In situations of massive and unavoidable contact between two linguistic groups, adjustments are sometimes by both groups, but, increasingly in the twentieth century at least, massive disparities in power and influence between the groups often lead to the displacement of one of the languages by the other -- a process often referred to as "language death". The paths towards and away from this often undesired destiny are illustrated in Figure 1. The starting point is linguistic security, the state in which Maori existed until and shortly after the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840. The Treaty itself had to be translated into Maori to enable the transfer of governance to the British Crown to be achieved by negotiation rather than by force, and in the early colonial period it was often the English officials who had to learn Maori in order to accomplish their goals, rather than the Maori who had to master English.

This was quickly followed, however, by an extended period of bilingualism, increasingly unidirectional -- the pressure on Maori to learn English became much greater, while that on the colonizers to learn or use Maori lessened correspondingly. By the end of the nineteenth century, the Maori language could be (and was) ignored, for most practical purposes, by the vast majority of English-speaking New Zealanders. This was partly due to demography -- the Maori had shrunk to a mere five percent of the total population of New Zealand -- and to the geographical, economic and social effects of the land wars of the 1860s, which resulted in the confining of most of the remaining Maori population to economically marginal rural ghettos, out of sight and sound of the settler population. Maori leaders quickly realized that they could not regain control of their own affairs by military means, and there was considerable Maori support (albeit for very different strategic reasons) for the all-English school system which was being established by the government in even the most isolated Maori communities.

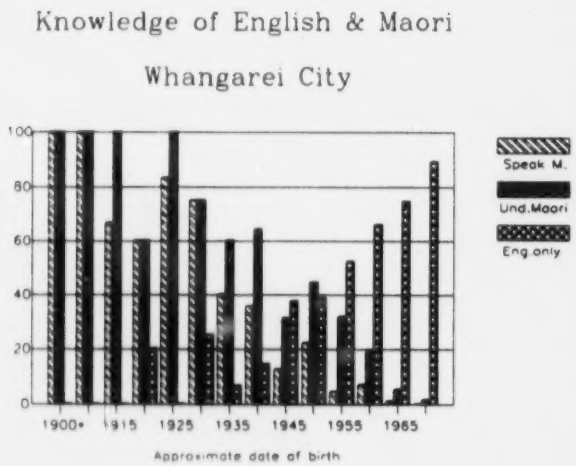
For several generations in some areas, the marginal and isolated condition of Maori communities probably protected the language from the sudden collapse that affected Hawaiian, the other major Polynesian language whose speakers experienced overwhelming political and demographic catastrophe in the nineteenth century. There was a period of equilibrium, when English and Maori coexisted in a relatively stable "diglossic" relationship with complementary functions -- English used in formal education and dealings with the Pakeha [immigrant European] world, and

Fluency in Maori by Year of Birth

The six sets of graphs which follow show four aspects of knowledge of spoken Maori reported by household heads for themselves and members of their families, grouped by approximate year of birth: before 1910 (''1900'' in the graph legend), then in 5 year periods (1910-1914; 1915-1919, etc.) until 1970 and beyond. The first bar in each set shows the percentage of fluent speakers of Maori, the second, the percentage of people able to understand conversational Maori with ease, and the third column the percentage reported to have no knowledge of the language. An asterisk in the date row at the bottom of the graph indicates the beginning of the sequence of dates in which a majority of the people interviewed in the survey (N=6915 for the whole sample, most of whom were born before 1955) consistently stated that English was their first language. A plus (+) in the date line indicates that there was no period when native English speakers in that area or iwi were in a majority in our sample. The number of people represented by the graph is indicated in separate boxes before each set of graphs.

The First Wave

These 4 graphs present data from Whangarei City (First Language: N=62, Knowledge of Spoken Maori: N=392); the Rangitikei, Manawatu and Horowhenua regions in the south-west of the North Island (FL: N=270, KSM: N=1276); the township of Porongahau in central Hawkes Bay (FL: N=18, KSM: N=78), and, as a contrasting example, Ruatoria on the East Coast (FL: N=65; KSM: N=248).



Maori the everyday language and the language of religion and Maori affairs.

Where the disparity in power and prestige associated with the languages is great, however, bilingualism can be associated with language ''death''. Instead of maintaining the language in a diglossic situation, its speakers may allow the subordinate language to ''decay''. This stage is reached when, on a society-wide basis, such a language is no longer used as the primary language for the socializing of children. It is possible within three generations to move from a community of monolingual speakers of the traditional language, to bilingual speakers, whose children in turn become monolingual speakers of the new language. In the twentieth century this has been a common fate of immigrant and indigenous languages alike in many industrialized countries.

THE MAORI EXPERIENCE

Maori experience in the twentieth century seems to have followed the classic pattern of language decline, obscured in many areas of high Maori population where there was minimal direct contact with English speakers (apart from the increasingly pervasive instituion of the school), but strikingly apparent decades or generations earlier in other parts of the country. However, for each community, region and iwi there have been three transition points in the crisis affecting the language: the point at which Maori ceased to be the first language understood by children, the point where children in the community became unlikely to acquire fluency in Maori, and the point at which children were more likely to be monolingual English speakers than at least passively bilingual. In our survey, information about first language was collected only from those people who were interviewed directly -- 6915 adults, almost all of whom were over the age of 20. By crosstabulating the information they gave us with the place in which they lived as children, we have been able to gain some retrospective insight into the linguistic history of many Maori communities. For many communities, of course, the numbers of people included in this part of the survey are small. However, even in these cases clear trends are usually evident and it is possible to see approximately when the first steps from bilingualism to language loss were taken. Information about current ability to speak and understand Maori was collected for all 33,338 participants, and this resulted in substantial coverage of most major areas of Maori population. Some of this information is presented in the graphs illustrating this paper.

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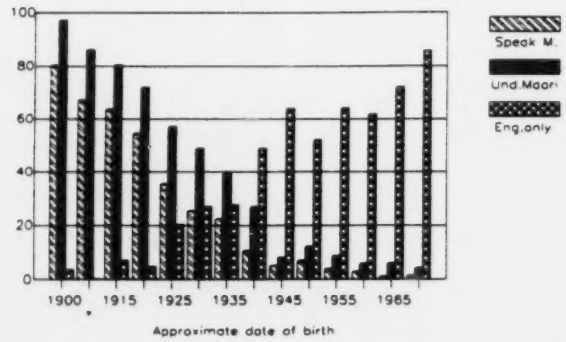
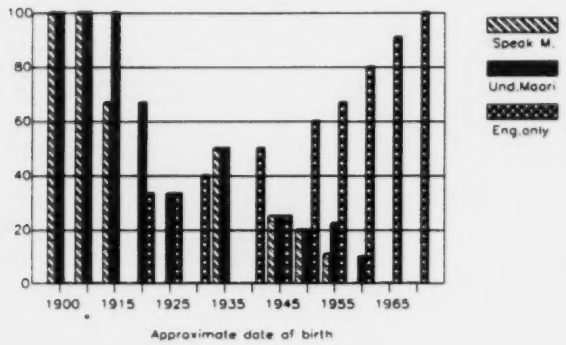
Knowledge of English & Maori

Rangitikei, Manawatu & Horowhenua



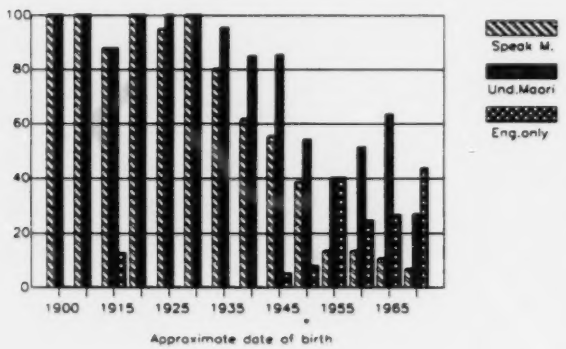
Knowledge of English & Maori

Porongahau



Knowledge of English & Maori

Ruatoria



At first, the adverse impact of English on the maintenance of Maori was in the towns and cities, where Maori people were normally a tiny minority, and in rural areas engulfed by European settlement. Townships like Whangarei (now a major provincial city) and Porongahau (which has remained a small country town), although situated close to traditional Maori rural communities, quickly absorbed their relatively few Maori residents into their English-dominated linguistic environment. Although most of our older informants from these areas could speak Maori well, they had seldom learned it as their first language. The native speakers of Maori in these districts (like the parents of our informants) were generally people who had not grown up there. This process of rapid linguistic assimilation seems to have been well established in small and large townships throughout New Zealand, and in much of the southern part of the North Island before the outbreak of the first World War.

There were, nevertheless, some rural townships where the process of linguistic change was much more gradual. A good example of this is the small township of Ruatoria (1971 population 734; 504 of "half or more"[9] Maori descent). Waiapu County[10], where Ruatoria is situated, was the local government unit with the highest proportion of Maori residents in the 1970s; there was thus little contrast ethnically or linguistically between the town and the surrounding countryside. The persistence of the Maori language in such an environment is not surprising. But even here, the period 1900-1945 saw a steady erosion not just of native-speakers of Maori, but also of fluent speakers generally. Knowledge of Maori remained desirable, but fluency became steadily less necessary for everyday living. The period immediately following World War II seems to have been a turning point here: there appears to have been a marked increase in the use of English with children, a growing percentage of children with little or no knowledge of Maori (phenomena which were not highly correlated in the 1930s). In Ruatoria the balance seems to have shifted decisively in favour of English in the 1960s, with Maori becoming increasingly the preserve of the older generation.

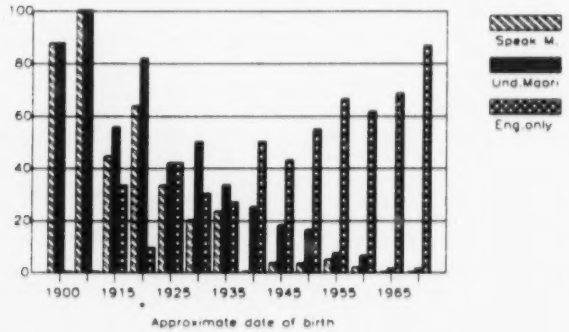
The concurrence dramatic shifts in language use or attitudes with important historical events is probably not merely coincidental. Since the late 1850s, Maori speakers in New Zealand have been often quite literally on the defensive. There have been traumatic social disruptions affecting large numbers of Maori people every generation since then -- the achievement of numerical superiority by English settlers, followed by the land wars and confiscations in the 1860s, steady

The First World War

The move towards English became apparent in the lower North Island after World War I. The graphs illustrate the situation in the major central Hawkes Bay towns of Hastings, Napier and Havelock North (combined FL: N=82; KSM: N=878); the rural areas of Hawkes Bay County (FL: N=155; KSM: N=750); and the iwi Ngati Raukawa (FL: N=192; KSM: N=803).

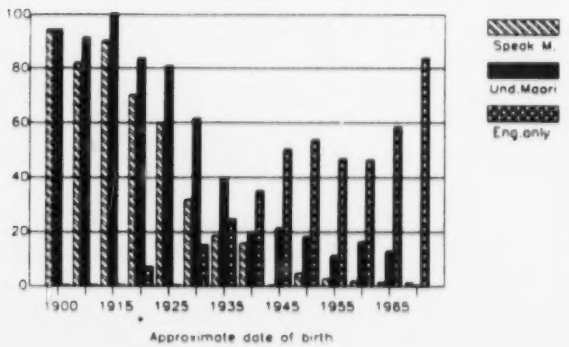
Knowledge of English & Maori

Napier, Hastings & Havelock North



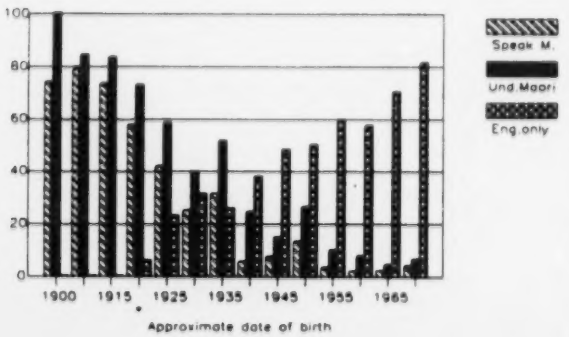
Knowledge of English & Maori

Hawkes Bay County



Knowledge of English & Maori

Ngati Raukawa



population loss until the beginning of the twentieth century, World War I, which saw loss of Maori lives both in fighting in Europe and from the terrible influenza epidemic which followed the return of the New Zealand troops, the depression of the 1930s, World War II, which removed thousands of young Maori men and women from the countryside as soldiers and civilian workers in the war effort, the forced emigration from country to city resulting from government social policies in the immediate post-war period, and the export of urbanization (and the English language) to the remaining rural strongholds of Maori through improvements in transport, rural electrification and the advent of television in the 1960s.

The end of World War I seems to have marked a turning point in many parts of Wellington and Hawkes Bay provinces. Although the change to English was more rapid in the towns (whose growing Maori populations usually came as immigrants from Maori communities in the same region), the country areas also experienced a steady decrease in the active use of Maori. The presence of relatively large Maori-speaking communities near emerging urban centers like Napier and Hastings probably initially slowed the pace of change, but, since the towns and also much of the countryside were dominated by English-speaking settlers, the replacement of Maori by English was probably hastened eventually in the formerly Maori-speaking areas as a result of increasing contacts with the cities stimulated by Maori emigration to these places. One major iwi caught up in language shift at this time was Ngati Raukawa, whose settlements were located in and around the town of Otaki, north of Wellington City, and also in Matamata County, southeast of Hamilton. None of the Raukawa communities would have been able to effectively isolate themselves from the English presence, and linguistically their fate seems to have paralleled that of most urban Maori between the two world wars.

It is the Great Depression of the 1930s, however, which coincided with and perhaps in some areas precipitated a move towards English and away from Maori as the first language of the home throughout the central North Island. On a national basis, it seems that the process of language change began in earnest in the 1930s, although (as the graphs suggest) its effects did not really become discernable until the 1950s, when the large numbers of people who had learned Maori as a second language in childhood were succeeded by a new generation with many monoglot English speakers. Several major iwi were affected by language shift during this period. Te Arawa as a whole seemed to follow the lead of their center, Rotorua City, with a

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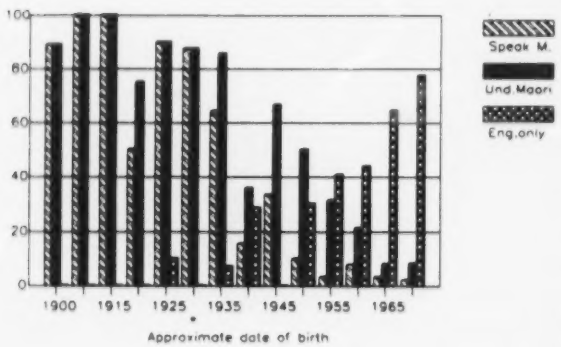
The Great Depression

The depression years were disastrous linguistically as well as economically for many Maori communities and entire iwi, as can be seen in these graphs: the township of Taupo (FL: N=43; KSM: N=324); Rotorua City and Ngongotaha township (FL: N=214; KSM: N=1181); the Taranaki and Wanganui regions (FL: N=320; KSM: N=1315); the Waikato and King Country regions (FL: N=961; N=4177); the rural areas of Tauranga County (FL: N=155; KSM: N=557); Wairoa County (FL: N=319; KSM: N=1053); Ngati Kahungunu iwi, based in Hawkes Bay province and the Wairarapa (FL: N=574; KSM: N=2753); and Ngati Tuwharetoa of the central North Island volcanic plateau (FL: N=316; KSM:N=1491).

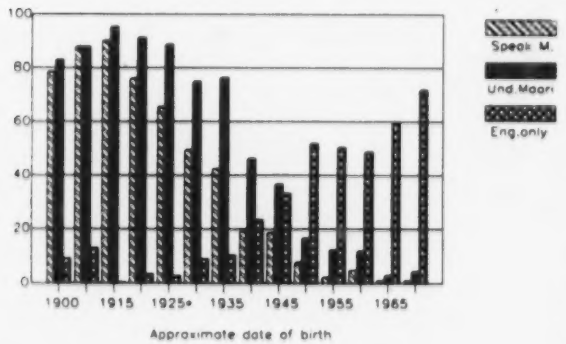
Knowledge of English & Maori

Taupo



Knowledge of English & Maori

Rotorua City & Ngongotaha



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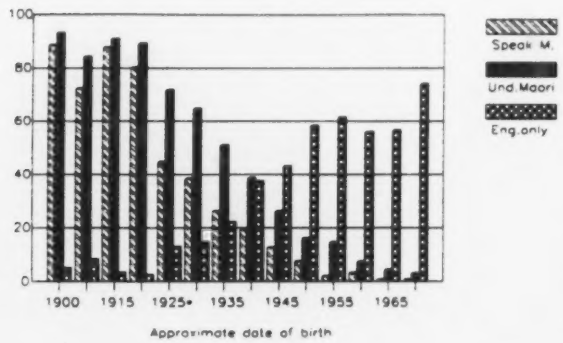
delay of about five years at each stage of the process. Tourism and the role of Rotorua (which included several pivotal Arawa communities) may have hastened the change for Te Arawa (despite the encouragement the tourist trade gave to some of the performing arts and aspects of Maori material culture). The neighboring Tuwharetoa and Waikato iwi and those in the western Bay of Plenty were also affected critically at this time, as well as the Taranaki and Wanganui tribes to the west, and Ngati Kahungunu in the southeast.

Education as well as urbanization probably played an important part in facilitating a shift from Maori to English at this time. Punishment for speaking Maori at school had been widespread up until this time. During the 1930s the authorities in Wellington made it clear that this was not official policy, but it continued to be the practice in many schools well into the next decade (see R. Benton 1988, N. Benton 1989). However the liberalization of the curriculum and a deliberate policy of trying to bring the culture of the school closer to that of the community, the communicative use of Maori excepted, may have been more effective in persuading people that English was the only language needed for the future than the repressive policies of the preceding thirty or forty years. Several very prominent and influential Maori leaders worked hard to make the mastery of English the highest priority on the Maori social agenda in the period between the wars, and the survey data suggest that their efforts were very fruitful. One of the most vigorous campaigners for English, Sir Apirana Ngata, reversed his stand when he realized that bilingualism was leading to the replacement of Maori by English within the family and Maori community (a state of affairs he had obviously not believed to be possible), but the process, once initiated, seemed irreversible.

World War II and its aftermath consolidated the gains for English at the expense of Maori which had been made during the 1930s. Economic dislocation was replaced by social dislocation greater than anything the Maori nation had experienced since the land wars of the 1860s. Two powerful iwi which had sat out or joined the winning side during the earlier conflict, Ngapuhi in the north and Ngati Porou on the East Coast, were heavily involved in the war in Europe, the provision of men and women to help in the war domestic effort away from their tribal homelands, and in the exodus to the urban centers which accellerated after the war's end. These two iwi were prime beneficiaries of the extension of secondary education to Maori communities during and after the war. The Maori District High Schools had Maori language as a core subject, and made a secondary education available to ordinary Maori

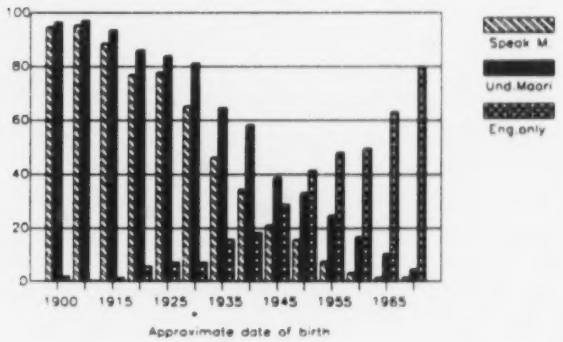
Knowledge of English & Maori

Taranaki and Wanganui Regions



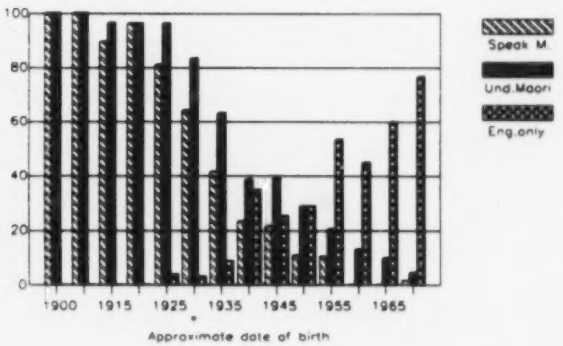
Knowledge of English & Maori

Waikato & The King Country



Knowledge of English & Maori

Tauranga County



families in the countryside for the first time. However, Maori was not the language of instruction (or learning) in these schools, or in the numerous Maori primary schools, and the high schools in most of the towns and cities to which the majority younger Maori were migrating did not offer Maori even as a subject until well into the 1970s.

Government policy secured the social dominance of English by a housing policy designed to prevent the formation of urban ghettos. Maori families were encouraged, and often virtually compelled to move from "uneconomic" rural landholdings to state-provided accomodation in the urban areas, where they were welcome as a virtually inexhaustible supply of cheap labor for fledgling and traditional industries. In a liberal concern to ensure an "integrated" rather than "segregated" community, the Maori families were "pepper potted" in new suburbs. This attempt to secure racial harmony effectively prevented the re-establishment of Maori speech communities in the city. It also provided bases for the invasion of the traditional outposts of Maori language maintenance by a fifth column of monolingually English-speaking relatives, as most families naturally kept in contact with their relatives "back home". This would complete the anglicization of the New Zealand countryside in the ensuing decades.

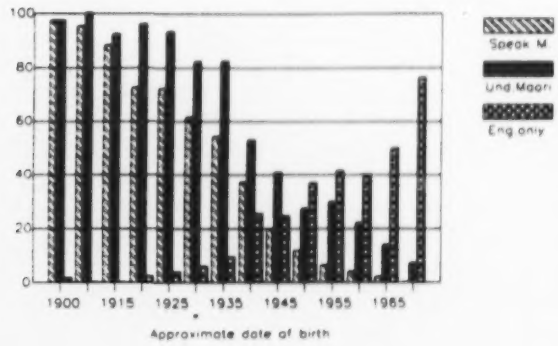
The extent to which this linguistic change had progressed was not at all apparent at the time, however. In educational circles there was widespread concern about "language problems" of Maori children, often attributed to the use of Maori in the home. At the same time, a new sensitivity to the needs of Maori-speakers was appearing in official circles. Adult Maori were almost all fluent in the language, and it is reported that in 1951, when for the first time the census of Maori population was conducted in exactly the same way as that for the rest of the population:

> The only precaution taken was to provide schedules printed in the Maori language, which were made available where Maoris expressed preference for them -- in practice such schedules were used extensively. (Watson & Metge 1953)

By the end of the decade a conscientious effort was being made to develop reading materials in Maori for the secondary school Maori language course (hitherto based mainly on grammar, translation and composition exercises, with the bible and a few classical texts serving as literature). These materials were produced initially with native speakers in mind; it was not until the 1960s that it became clear that a high proportion of

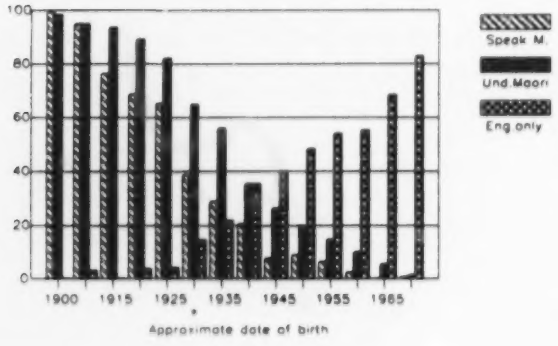
Knowledge of English & Maori

Wairoa County & Wairoa Borough



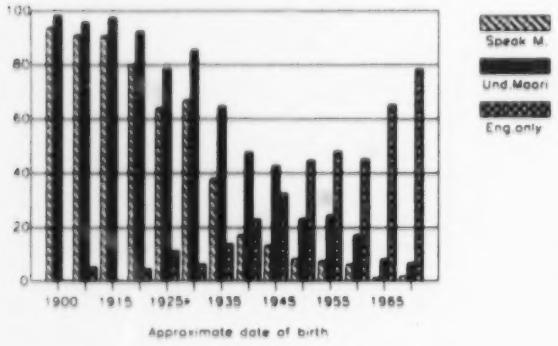
Knowledge of English & Maori

Ngati Kahungunu



Knowledge of English & Maori

Ngati Tuwharetoa



Maori children studying Maori, especially in the cities and towns, had little or no active command of the language.

In some cases, the countryside itself was urbanized -- in the early 1960s, for example, the Maori communities of Waahi and Rakaumanga were demographically self-contained rural localities. The local Maori school served the two communities, and Waahi was (and remains) a key center of the King Movement[11]. By the mid 1970s, these settlements were completely engulfed by the expanded town of Huntly (originally occupying the eastern bank of the Waikato River, with the two rural communities situated on the west). The communities and the King Movement benefitted from the electricity generation project which was the cause of the sudden urbanization of the countryside, but to counterbalance this they lost a great measure of control of their linguistic destiny. Although, again, the seeds of radical change can be traced to the 1930s, the decade following World War II also saw the weakening, if not collapse, of the formerly solidly Maori-speaking bastions of Waiapu County on the East Coast (headquarters of the Ngati Porou) and Hokianga County in Northland, the two Counties in which Maori had remained the majority population since the 1840s, and Whakatane County, an area where European settlement had been facilitated by massive expropriations of prime land from allegedly "rebel' iwi (some of whom fought on the side of the British!), but which probably had the highest number and concentration of Maori-speakers of any administrative county from the 1920s.

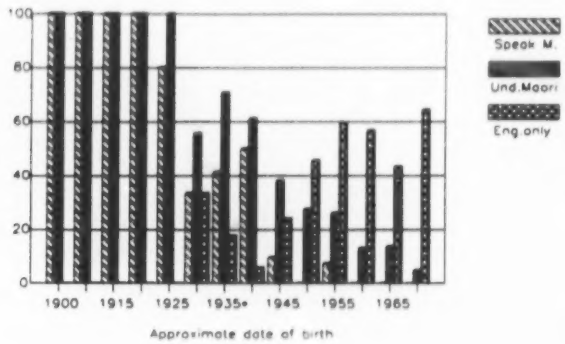
Ngati Porou as an iwi, whose members were widely dispersed by the 1950s, had shifted towards English before its Waiapu heartland. The changes in Whakatane county had probably been slowed considerably by the presence of the linguistically conservative Tuhoe and Ngati Awa iwi; similarly, the Aupouri and Rarawa iwi of the far north, along with the sections of the Ngapuhi people resident in the Hokianga were among the last to move towards English as the everyday means of communication among themselves. However, even the Tuhoe, who had stubbornly resisted European encroachment in the half-century following the land wars, and had endured much suffering as a result, were affected by the more subtle pressures of modernization. The Aupouri people of the far north, less overtly rebellious but no less solidly Maori speaking, had been able for several generations to combine mastery of English as a second language with the universal use of Maori for all domestic, traditional and local purposes. Possibly both groups of people were unprepared for the effects of electricity and television, which invaded their heartlands together in the late

World War II

The outbreak of the second World War greatly accellerated the integration of the Maori community as a whole into an urban indistrial culture dominated linguistically by English. The graphs illustrate the changes during this period in the Waahi/ Rakaumanga area, an important center for the Maori King Movement (FL: N=67; KSM: N=273); and the powerful Ngapuhi (FL: N=1467; KSM: N=6731) and Ngati Porou (FL: N=738; KSM: N=3176) iwi.

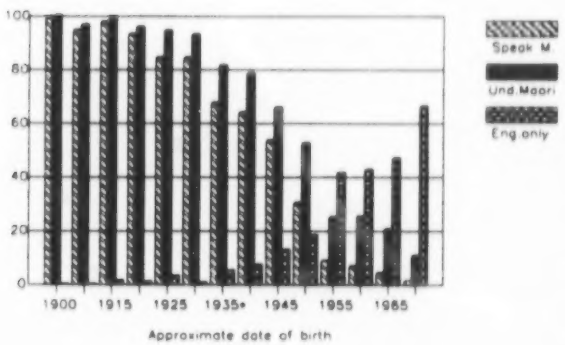
Knowledge of English & Maori

Waahi. Rakaumanga & Huntly



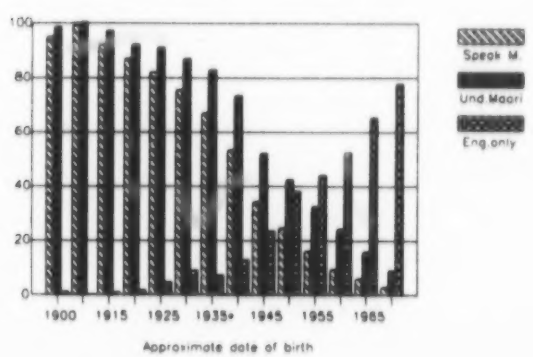
Knowledge of English & Maori

Ngati Porou



Knowledge of English & Maori

Ngapuhi



1960s. It is this period which marks the turning point in the shift towards English for Tuhoe as an iwi (but not for all Tuhoe communities), and for the Aupouri heartland in the three northern settlements of Te Hapua, Te Kao and Ngataki.

By the time we conducted our survey, there were only two communities that appeared to have consistently resisted the trend towards anglicization. These were Ruatoki, a Tuhoe stronghold in the Bay of Plenty, and Matawaia, a small farming community peopled by a hapû of the Ngati Hine section of the Ngapuhi iwi in the Bay of Islands. The numbers of people from Matawaia in our sample are too few to graph (in some age groups there were only one or two people), but both communities showed similar trends -- evidence of some recent erosion of the native-speaker base, and an increasing tendency of older children to use English among themselves but with Maori as clearly the major language for everyday communication and the lingua franca for the community as a whole.

Geographic isolation has been one factor in the success of these communities in retaining Maori as their primary language, but, since neither is as isolated as many long-anglicized Maori communities, this obviously is not the complete explanation. The two communities do have another link in common, support in the past for charismatic leaders (Te Kooti in the latter part of the nineteenth century and Rua in the early twentieth century, in the case of Ruatoki, and Kaka Porowini in the pre-depression years in Matawaia) who, among other things, saw the government schools as agents of English acculturation, and took steps to provide their followers with alternative forms of modern education. Again this is not a complete explanation, as each of these leaders had even closer associations with neighboring communities which had undergone marked linguistic change, but the ability to remain psychologically isolated from English cultural influences seems to have been a much more decisive factor in language maintenance in these communities than just being a few miles off the main road.

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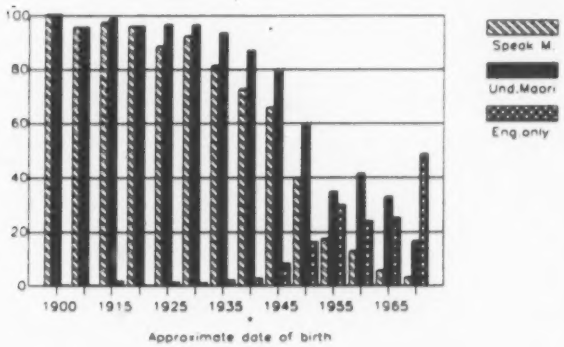
Post-War Deconstruction

The 1950s saw radical linguistic change in many districts which had been demographically and linguistically solidly Maori. The graphs illustrate the pace and timing of change in Waiapu County (FL: N=468; KSM: N=1560), Hokianga County (FL: N=331; KSM: N=828); Whakatane County (FL: N=543; KSM: N=2681); and among the Aupouri, Rarawa and Ngati Kahu iwi of the far north (FL: N=174; KSM: N=713).

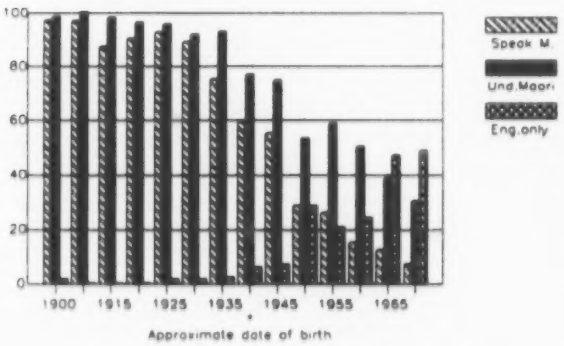
Knowledge of English & Maori

Waiapu County



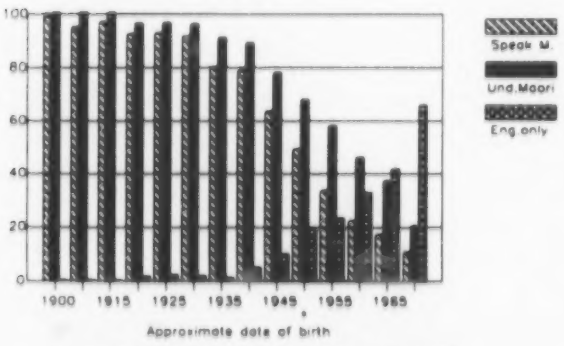
Knowledge of English & Maori

Hokianga County



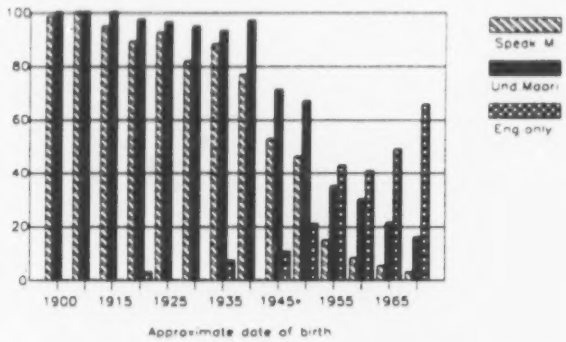
Knowledge of English & Maori

Whakatane County



Knowledge of English & Maori

Te Aupouri, Te Rarawa, Ngati Kahu

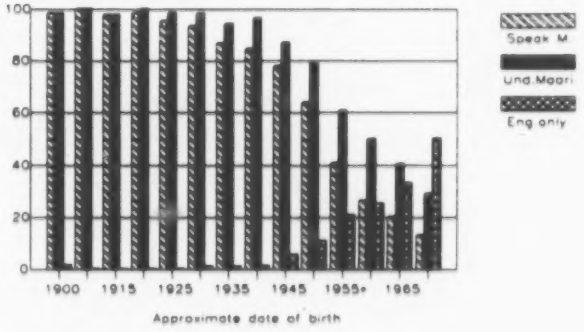


The Exceptions

Maori continued to be maintained as the primary language of a few communities into the 1960s. These graphs show the pattern of language in three localities on the Aupouri Peninsula (FL: N=78; KSM: N=233); among the Tuhoe iwi generally (FL: N=410; KSM: N=1943), and in the Tuhoe settlement of Ruatoki (population in 1971 412; 368 of "half or more" Maori ancestry), by far the largest Maori-speaking community in the 1970s (FL: N=107; KSM: N=358).

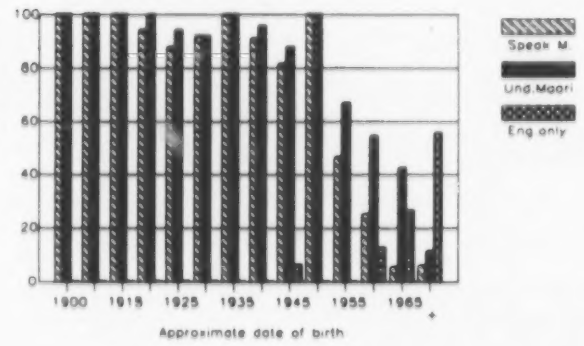
Knowledge of English & Maori

Tuhoe



Knowledge of English & Maori

Te Hapua, Te Kao & Ngataki



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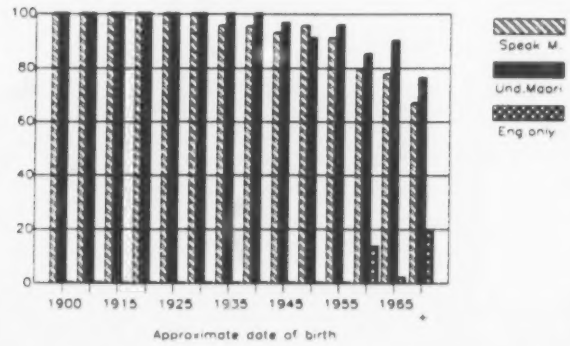
Knowledge of English & Maori

Ruatoki

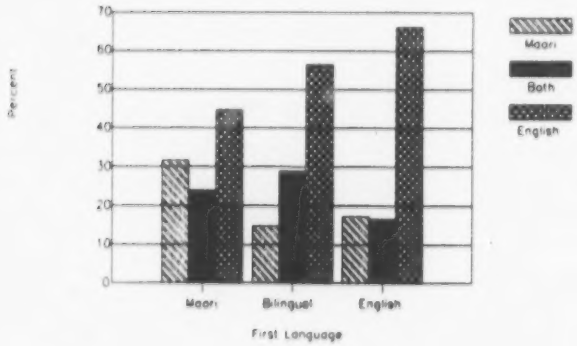


Language Preferences

The two graphs indicate the language preferred for general conversation and for writing by fluent speakers of Maori whose first language was Maori (N=2680), English and Maori learned simultaneously (N=195) and English alone (N=1065) respectively.

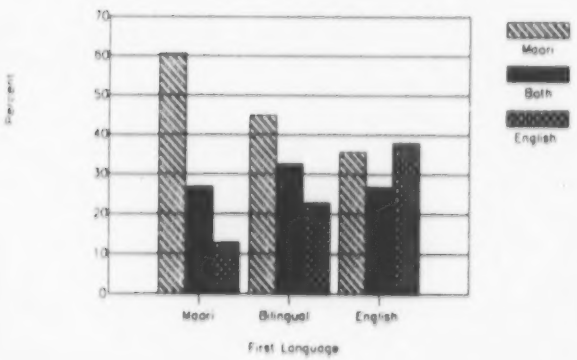
Language Preferred for Writing

(Fluent Maori Speakers)



Language Preferred for Conversation

(Fluent Maori Speakers)



A LANGUAGE FOR CONSENTING ADULTS?

Nevertheless, despite the mainfest erosion of Maori as the ordinary language of home, family and neighborhood, Maori has continued to be very important as a social bond between those who speak it. In the 1970s, however, it had become almost universally assumed that English was the lingua franca of Maoridom as a whole. On occasions, insistence on speaking Maori, even among a Maori audience, might cause open resentment on the part of those who could not follow what was being said. The assumptions concerning children were particularly important: it was generally considered that either they could not speak Maori at all, or that they could only answer ritual questions, like "e pêhea ana koe?" [how are you?], or "kei hea tô ihu?" [where is your nose?]. Except in a very few communities like Ruatoki and Matawaia, Maori had become basically a language spoken between consenting adults.

It was very clear that the Maori situation had become a classic example of what Joshua Fishman has called "bilingualism without diglossia":

> Under what circumstances do the speech varieties or languages involved lack clearly defined or protected social functions? ... such circumstances are those of rapid social change, of great social unrest, of widespread abandonment of earlier norms before the consolidation of new ones. In such circumstances, children typically become bilingual at a very early age, while still largely confined to home and neighborhood, since their elders (children of school age and adults alike) carry into the domains of intimacy a language learned outside its confines. Formal institutions tend to make individuals increasingly monolingual in a language other than that of the home and ultimately, to replace the latter entirely. (Fishman 1972, p.145)

One of those formal institutions was undoubtedly the school, which had both overtly and covertly marginalized the Maori language. In the latter part of the nineteenth century the assimilationist goals of the school were made clear in official policy, although it was not until about the turn of the century that Maori was banished altogether from the classroom. School attendance was also made compulsory for Maori children at this time. The proportion of the Maori population affected by English rose rapidly, as a dramatic rise in the birth (or survival) rate resulted in an expanding population, all the new members of which would be

partially socialized through English within the state school system. From the 1840s, the Maori population had been highly literate in Maori. The replacement of the largely informal acquisition of literacy through the mother tongue by formal tuition in and through a second language brought about a strong association of literacy with English, the language through which most people soon first learned to read, and, especially, to write, and which became the almost exclusive avenue for acquiring knowledge valued by and necessary for survival in the wider society.

By the time we asked people about their language preferences, a substantial minority of those who had Maori as their sole first language, and a clear majority of those who were bilingual from early childhood or had become fluent in Maori after learning English preferred English over Maori for this purpose. As the facility for reading and writing in Maori became less common, the impression that Maori was inadequate in the modern world (held firmly by many non-Maori in positions of power and influence) was reinforced even in Maori eyes. It is also highly likely that school experience influenced profoundly the choice of language used conversationally by children outside the school, and, through them, eventually within the family as a whole. There is some evidence of this in Table 1: among those who had Maori as their sole first language, English was used much more frequently with brothers and sisters than with parents, and a little more often with younger than with older siblings.

Language loyalty to Maori, as revealed by questions about preferred choices, was much weaker among the bilingual and second-language group than among those who had been monolingual Maori speakers as children. Most of the small group of fluent speakers who said they used mostly English even on formal occasions on the marae were also people who did not have Maori as their first language. This indicates that many fluent speakers of Maori in the seventies had acquired Maori by accident of residence in what would still have been a Maori-speaking community or social environment while they were young, rather than because of any ideological commitment to the language on their part or that of their parents. It is not surprising therefore that in New Zealand as elsewhere, the path from individual bilingualism to monolingualism in the new language has often been a short one.

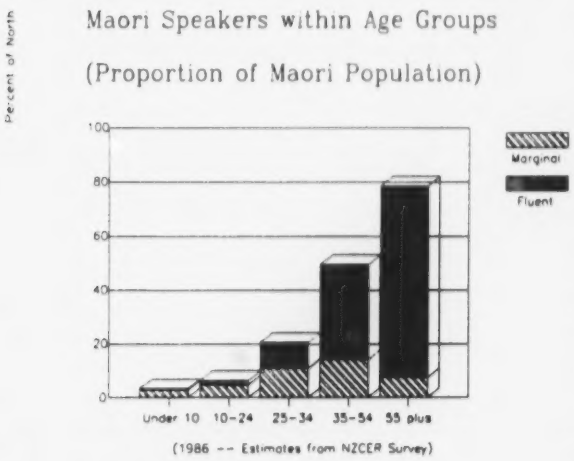
THE SITUATION IN THE NINETEEN SEVENTIES

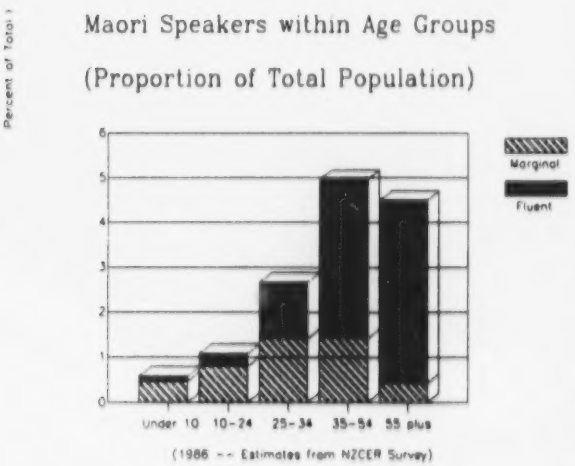
It is quite clear that by the late 1960s Maori had ceased to be the primary language of socialization for most Maori families. A glance at the Appendix to this paper will reveal the status of Maori as the main "household language" in hundreds of communities. A more significant figure, however, is the number of households where the youngest child was a fluent speaker of Maori. Only 170 out of 4090 households where the youngest child was still resident rated the child as fluent; another 152 households had a youngest child who could understand Maori fairly well, but had limited ability to speak the language in comparison with their fluency in English. Even added together, the proportion of households with proficient and semi-proficient Maori speakers as the youngest member of the new generation came to less than eight percent. Even this low figure is possibly exaggerated, as in our sample 27 of the 170 households and 2 of the others were located either in Ruatoki or Matawaia. However, what the data reveal about the antecedents of this fact, that it is the culmination of a process that had become well established during the depression years, make it less surprising in retrospect.

There seem to be at least three conditions (apart from the complete destruction of a speech community through a natural catastrophe or total warfare) which must normally be present before we can pronounce a language like Maori terminally ill. These are (1) the speakers of the threatened language are overwhelmed numerically, (2) they lack a secure geographical base, and (3) the language concerned is significantly less prestigious than its competitor. At the turn of the century, Maori formed about five percent of the New Zealand population; in 1991, among school-age and preschool children, the proportion of people of Maori ancestry is close to 20 percent. For the Maori population, numerical weakness is thus giving way to numerical strength. For Maori speakers, however, the situation is different. The numbers of fluent speakers of Maori were almost certainly greater in the 1970s than they were in the 1890s, and even by the mid-80s the numbers would have been on a par with the late 19th century. However, as proportions of either the total population or the Maori population, Maori-speakers are certainly overwhelmed numerically. Young Maori-speakers cannot look forward in the short term to numerical strength either, as the accompanying graphs indicate.

Maori Speakers by Age Group

These two graphs show the estimated proportion of Maori speakers in five age groups within the North Island Maori population and within the total population of the North Island.





Geographical security has also been eroded, although not quite to the same degree as relative numerical strength. During the twentieth century many former regional strongholds of Maori population have become predominantly non-Maori demographically. Wanganui and Rotorua Counties, for example, were no longer areas where Maori were numerically predominant in the 1970s. Of the large political territorial units at that time, only Waiapu County was solidly Maori, and Hokianga County, the most economically depressed area of local government in New Zealand also had a Maori majority. The only large contiguous geographical area in which Maori people formed a clear majority was in the East Coast-Eastern Bay of Plenty: Waiapu County, with adjoining portions of Cook County to the south, of Opotiki County to the north, and the Urewera portion of Wairoa and Whakatane Counties over the mountains to the west. However, it was only in the northern Urewera where Maori speakers were dominant, although throughout this hypothetical region they would nowhere have been numerically overwhelmed. Segments of this area had been (and might again become) economically prosperous, but most were adversely affected by New Zealand's general economic difficulties in the 1970s, and, because of the mountainous terrain, communication between the component parts was difficult.

There is an ethnic dimension to territoriality in New Zealand, however, which in the past at least made the territorial base of Maoridom more secure than it might otherwise seem. In many places where neither the Maori nor the European settlers and their descendents were an "overwhelming" majority, the two communities were able to function quite independently of each other in many ways, occupying the same physical space but each able to ignore the presence of the other in many aspects of their cultural and social lives. Many parts of Northland, the Waikato, the King Country, perhaps the northern two-thirds of the North Island generally functioned this way. However, the language does not seem to have been protected for long by this condominium arrangement. Furthermore, the emigration to the cities, turning the Maori population from overwhelmingly rural at the outbreak of World War II (when only about ten percent of Maori lived in towns and cities) to predominantly urban (with less than thirty percent living in rural areas) by the end of the 1970s, meant that the greatest concentrations of Maori speakers were outside the areas where Maori people were numerically the majority.

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Distribution of Maori Speakers, 1976
(By Local Government Region)

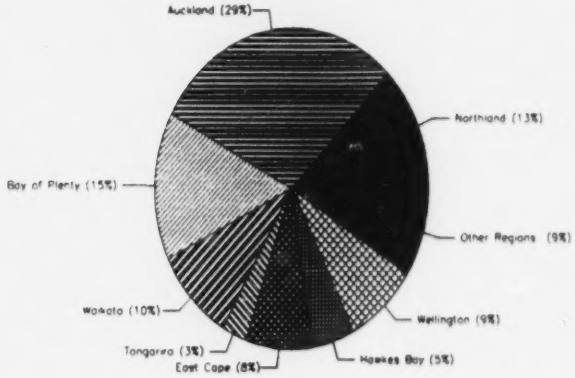

Figure 2

Estimated Distribution of Maori Speakers, 1976

Extrapolations from our data, illustrated in Figure 2, indicate that when our survey was underway about 30 percent of the Maori-speaking population lived in the Greater Auckland area, almost all of them emigrants from other parts of the North Island, especially from the rural communities in Northland, the Waikato, and the Bay of Plenty and East Coast regions. The total Maori community comprised only about 11 percent of this conurbation (an indication of the variations within the region can be seen in the Appendix), as it did in the four Wellington urban areas which accounted for almost 9 percent of all fluent Maori speakers at that time. Thus although segments of the Maori-speaking population still had some geographical and numerical security, the majority were engulfed by English-speaking institutions and neighbors. Territorially and demographically therefore Maori was very vulnerable in the 1970s, as most Maori people lived both outside Maori-speaking or ethnically Maori districts.

Even within ethnically Maori communities language maintenance would become problematic when less than 70 percent of the people spoke Maori, but all could speak English. The odds that any two people encountering each other by chance would be able to talk to each other in Maori when 70 percent still spoke the language would only be even (70 percent of 70 percent). When the Maori-speaking population fell to 50 percent, the odds would be fall to 1 in 4 (50 percent of 50 percent). These probabilities alone help explain why language loss tends at first to be gradual and then suddenly accelerates (as the graphs littered like tombstones through this report testify). It also explains the behaviour of certain age groups towards each other. Once a substantial proportion of children are known to be more comfortable in English than Maori, older people, more interested in communication than pedagogy, will not only tend to speak to them in English, but will also tend to assume that children as a group (except when there is explicit evidence to the contrary) speak only English. Habit follows assumption, and English becomes the default language in such situations.

It was probably the case for the first six decades of the twentieth century that Maori was indeed significantly less prestigious than English in the ears of non-Maori New Zealanders, and that this low opinion of the Maori language came to be accepted by many Maori parents, thus facilitating the change to English as the normal language for interactions involving the whole household. However, Maori perceptions of the direction in which the language was heading, coupled perhaps with a greatly increased interest in Maori on the part of Non-Maori New Zealanders seeking a New Zealand identity with roots in the Pacific rather than a

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few miles off the coast of Europe, contributed to a considerable improvement in the perceived status of Maori just at the time when the other indicators of the language's vitality signalled its impending demise. One symptom of this, among many, was the inclusion of Maori as a core subject in the Primary School curriculum (even though it was the only core subject that schools were required to teach only if they could obtain sufficient resources to enable them to do so effectively). In 1987, after a long political struggle on the part of Maori language activists, Maori was declared to be an official language, and a Maori Language Commission was set up to advise the government on measures needed to foster the language. The previous year the Waitangi Tribunal had found that the Crown had a duty under the Treaty of Waitangi to protect the language and to ensure that it flourished.

BEYOND THE SEVENTIES

Even more significant, however, was the establishment at the end of 1981 of the kôhanga reo [language nest] movement. This system of Maori language preschool centers, organized and staffed by volunteers, with some financial assistance initially from the Maori Education Foundation and the Department of Maori Affairs, spread rapidly, and within five years the number of kôhanga in operation had risen from 5 to more than 500. These centers were especially significant because through them the longstanding trend towards the primary socialization of children through English was checked; in many communities this was the first time in twenty years or more that young children would become fluent speakers of Maori. The kôhanga also gave an important new role to grandparents and other elderly people, as language teachers outside their immediate family.

The second significant advance affecting large numbers of Maori people has been the establishment of a number of Maori language radio stations, initially self-help efforts, but with substantial public funding becoming available to them in 1990. In 1991, the High Court determined that the Crown's obligation under the Treaty of Waitangi to protect the Maori language extended to the guarantee of opportunities to use the language in television programming. In education, 20 bilingual schools had been approved between 1976 and the implementation of major educational reforms in 1989 which sidelined this innovation, but required all schools to provide opportunities for learning in and about the Maori language for those pupils who desired to do so. During the 1980s a number of Maori immersion primary schools were also established, because of widespread dissatisfaction among Maori parents with the lack of follow-up to their own efforts at the preschool level by the primary education system. Too many fluent Maori-speaking five year olds were once again becoming monolingually English-speaking six year olds. These kura kaupapa Mâori were also given formal recognition in the new education legislation, after intensive lobbying by Maori interest groups, but the decisions on funding rest with the Minister of Education. The non-Maori educational establishment thus retains the power to veto or obstruct Maori initiatives.

Nevertheless, the inadequacy of the reforms and the token nature of many official acts notwithstanding, it is quite apparent that the Maori language can no longer be ignored by governments and official agencies in New Zealand. There seems little doubt that the language will continue to be important for ceremonial purposes, even for many who cannot speak or understand it well, and that it will be studied at all levels of the school system. This is at least suspended animation, and certainly a reprieve from the death sentence which seemed to have been handed down between the 1930s and the 1950s. For a more substantial revival to succeed, positive attitudes towards the language and a will among its speakers to resist almost overwhelming social pressure to capitulate to English will be key factors, plus the ability to obtain necessary resources and institutional support on a sustained basis. There is also a need to consolidate advantages where they do exist, for example the economic development of centers of Maori population in a way which benefits the Maori community and supports the maintenance and revitalization of the Maori language. Maori interest in the Basque cooperatives and school system is highly appropriate in this connection (cf. N. Benton 1990).

Since the nineteenth century many Maori leaders have identified Maoridom with the People of Israel. Certainly, the latter day Israelites are the only people so far to "revive" a language that had "died" in everyday and secular use. One of the major aims of the NZCER linguistic survey was to find what factors influenced positively and negatively the transmission of the language, so that more effective steps could be taken to ensure its survival. Taking the households where the youngest child was under 16 and was also fluent in Maori as those who had succeeded in resisting the movement towards English, a number of contrasts, some quite dramatic, were

observed between these households as a group and the whole sample. The major differences noted so far are listed in Table 2.

Table 2

Characteristics of Maori-Speaking Households with Children Under 16

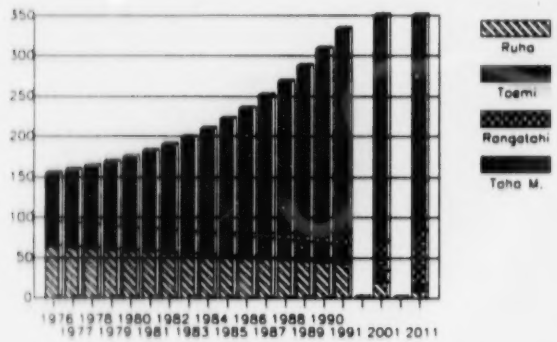
	Maori-Speaking Households(N=139)	All Households (N=6470)
Community characteristics:		
Small rural locality	51.8%	25.7%
60% or more Maori	56.1 %	24.2%
Geographical location:		
Northland, Bay of Plenty or East Coast	71.2%	50.5%
Household composition:		
5 or more people present	78.4%	55.9%
More than 1 male	85.3%	71.7%
More than 1 female	92.7%	71.9%
More than 2 generations	43.9%	20.8%
Characteristics of household heads:		
Male Professional	0.0%	1.5%
Female Professional	2.3%	0.4%
Both from same iwi	76.0%	41.3%
Iwi membership of male household head:		
Ngapuhi	21.6%	16.8%
Waikato	1.4%	5.6%
Arawa	0.7%	4.8%
Tuwharetoa	3.6%	3.6%
Ngati Awa	5.0%	1.7%
Tuhoe	24.5%	4.3%
Ngati Porou	8.6%	8.6%
Ngati Kahungunu	0.7%	6.7%
Iwi membership of female household head:		
Ngapuhi	27.3%	19.2%
Waikato	1.4%	6.6%
Arawa	0.7%	5.8%
Tuwharetoa	1.4%	4.4%
Ngati Awa	4.3%	2.0%
Tuhoe	33.8%	5.4%
Ngati Porou	12.2%	10.7%
Ngati Kahungunu	0.7%	7.9%
Household language behaviour:		
Maori main language used at meals	61.2%	7.6%

The Task Ahead

This graph shows the estimated growth or decline in the number of Maori speakers in four categories from the nineteen seventies to the year 2011. The "ruha" category incorporates the fluent speakers at the time of our survey; the "toemi" category represents those who had a good knowlege of the language but were not fluent speakers. The figures for these have been projected from the survey data, taking into account local variations and death and emigration rates as indicated by census data. The "rangatahi" group represents the new generation of speakers -- it is an expression of hope and need, not a projection based on actual data. It shows what the situation would be if by 1991 the kôhanga reo and committed families had been able to produce 3,000 new fluent speakers of Maori a year, and were able to ensure that there were a net gain of 3,000 speakers annually over the following two decades. The last category, "Taha Mâori", covers those who have learned some Maori through family, community, or school (for example, through "taha Mâori" [Maori dimension] programs); it is simply assumed that these have been adding to a base of incorporating 50,000 children said to have been studying Maori at primary school and those involved in secondary school and voluntary programs in the 1970s at the rate of at least ten percent annually, and that this superficial acquaintance with Maori will eventually cover the whole community -- the upper level of the graph could therefore be extended upwards to include practically the entire population.

Maori-Speaking Population 1976-2011

(Projections from NZCER Survey)



Although various combinations of the factors which appeared to favour the maintenance of Maori as a family language increased the probability that the family would be Maori-speaking, no single factor or combination of factors was decisive. A Maori-speaking parent was essential, and two Maori-speaking parents highly desirable, for example, but the majority of households where these conditions obtained in the 1970s used English as their lingua franca. The more factors that were combined, the smaller the resulting subsample, and in every case, although the proportion of Maori-speaking families rose, they were never in a majority. Further statistical manipulation of the data may reveal some truly decisive factors, but for now it seems that the decision to speak Maori within the family in the 1970s was for most parents a personal one, reflecting the strength of their commitment to a Maori identity which placed language at the center. In a few communities this commitment was still supported by local behaviour as well as more general social norms, but most of the Maori-speaking families we encountered were exceptions to what had become the normal language behaviour (as distinct from attitudes) in their immediate geographical environment. Certainly, the stress placed on the involvement of the family in the early socialization of children through Maori by the kôhanga reo and kura kaupapa Mâori movements, and the ataarangi movent which preceded and parallels the other two, seems very well founded. The survey data seem to indicate that Maori experience in the past has been that the acquisition of Maori outside the home in childhood leads to competence in the language but not necessarily commitment. The revitalization movement therefore needs to support homes as strongly as schools and individual children to enhance its chances of sustained success.

The effort needed to consolidate the considerable gains of the 1980s is still immense, and will require continued cooperation between the Maori community and New Zealand's non-Maori population at both the personal and institutional level, as well as a capacity on the part of the Maori community to engage in continuous struggle against the hegemonic status of English. Statistically, English still has the upper hand. A careful extrapolation of our survey results, taking into account local and regional variations, indicates that in the mid 1970s there were about 64,000 fluent speakers of Maori within the Maori community, and another 30,000 people who could understand conversational Maori quite well, but were not confident speakers (the number of non-Maori fluent in Maori was so small as to be negligible). Taking into account death and emigration to foreign countries, by the year 2011, just over 15,000 of these people will probably still be living in New Zealand.

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They were not being replaced during the 1970s. However, if the kôhanga reo movement and committed families have by 1991 managed to produce an average of 3,000 fluent speakers a year, and maintain this rate (with gains to offset all losses along the way) for the next two decades, there should be a total of 83,000 Maori speakers (fluent and potentially fluent) by 2011. The final graph illustrates the probable situation in the 1970s, and the need for the future if even the ground lost since then is to be regained.

It is likely that the new generation of Maori-speakers will be urban rather than rural, and from skilled and professional backgrounds rather than from the ranks of small-scale farmers and semi-skilled and unskilled workers. It will also contain a higher proportion of people who have learned Maori as a second language, but this will be more a result of deliberate choice than of environmental accident. Nonetheless, at least two dangers will have to be faced by the revival movement in the near future. The first will be the alienation of the language community from the ethnic community, if the links between the rural past and urban future are seriously weakened, or if the socioeconomic backgrounds of the new speakers as a group are markedly different from those of Maoridom as a whole. The second danger is the appropriation of the language by non-Maori interests in a way inimical to the centrality of the language to Maori culture. This is already a problem, with a conflict in resource allocation between projects designed to spread a minimal knowledge of the language throughout the wider community, and the needs of bilingual schools, kura kaupapa Mâori and other programs designed to fully revitalize the language within the Maori community.

Tokenism in Maori language matters has often created an impressive facade of progress masking a retrogressive reality. There will always be a tension between the complementary rôles of Maori as the language of the Maori people and as the New Zealand language, now that Maori and New Zealand are not ethnically synonomous. This can only be resolved productively if the language is restored first to the descendants of its original speakers, and shared with the rest of the New Zealand community on terms acceptable to a Maori-speaking Maoridom.

There is one question implicit throughout this account which has yet to be answered satisfactorily. Why did so many Maori people collectively and individually decide at some point in the 1930s that the effort required to maintain the language within their homes was too great, even though at that time they seemed to be substantially in control of their immediate social environment, which appears to have been solidly Maori both ethnically and linguistically? There is probably no single answer to this question, just as there seems to be no simple answer to the corresponding question, why did some communities and many families resist what had become the general practice in the 1970s? The grassroots reaction in the 1980s makes it obvious that the decisions of a previous generation were regretted, and the community was certain that more had been lost thereby than had been gained. The causes of the loss of Maori as a living language in so many families and communities may well be found in the collective experience of the Maori people between the great flu epidemic and the end of the depression. Our data trace the appearance and development of the symptoms. Further and wider investigation is needed to make confident pronouncements about the immediate causes of language loss in Maori society, although the general causes are already fairly clear and not unique to the Maori situation. The survivors and the dispossesed are already working on the antidotes.

NOTES

[1] The Korotangi was a semi-mythical bird, whose memory and loss were preserved and lamented in ancient poetry. A stone figure of a bird, of Southeast Asian design, found in a tree split by lightning in the late nineteenth century is believed by many to be the fabled korotangi, but the nature of the original bearer of the name is still uncertain.

[2] Titles of publications arising from the survey, which include more than 140 reports to individual communities and many published papers, may be obtained from Te Wâhanga Kaupapa Mâori, New Zealand Council for Educational Research. P.O. Box 3237, Te Whanga-nui-a-Tara/Wellington, Aotearoa/New Zealand 6000. Many of these, including the complete set of community reports, are available at the University of Hawaii library.

[3] Technically, the marae is the open space in front of a Maori community meeting house, where visitors are formally welcomed and all important ceremonials and meetings commenced. The word is also used to include the entire marae complex, typically consisting of the marae proper, the meeting house, and the adjoining dining facilities.

[4] In Maori kinship terminology, tuakana denotes an individual's older siblings (and other relatives of the same generation) of the same sex as the person referred to.

[5] Tuahine refers to the sister of a man, tungane to the brother of a woman, i.e. cross-sex siblings (or relatives of the same generation).

[6] Teina denotes an individual's younger sibling (or other relative of the same generation) of the same sex.

[7] The people interviewed in the survey were asked to identify their first language understood and spoken. In the tabulations presented here, this definition is related to reported behaviour: those grouped as having Maori as their first langage are those who identified Maori as the first language spoken, and also spoke either to their grandparents mainly or entirely in Maori. Bilingual speakers are those who had either Maori or Maori and English together as a first language and spoke both Maori and English (but not Maori alone) to parents and/or grandparents. All others were grouped as having English as their first language.

[8] In 1984 and 1985 a follow up to the 1970s survey in eight communities was incorporated in an evaluation of bilingual schools (see Benton 1985). The remark quoted was recorded in the field notes of an interview in the Bay of Islands community of Motatau.

[9] Prior to the 1976 Census, figures for the Maori population generally reported those who claimed "half or more" Maori ancestry. From 1976, two sets of figures have been available -- those for the "half or more" category, and those of any degree of Maori descent. The multiplicity of legal definitions of Maori has also been simplified to include all persons of any degree of Maori descent who identify themselves as Maori.

[10] Since the survey was conducted, local government has undergone radical reconstruction in New Zealand, and many formerly autonomous towns and districts have been combined into much larger cities or regions. Our survey data was organized in the then-current categories of rural localities, the administrative counties of which they were part, and the various towns, boroughs and cities which had their own local government organization. The old terminology and classification has been retained in this paper.

[11] In the 1850s, the iwi of the central North Island united to resist further alienation of their land, and elected Tawhiao Te Wherowhero of Waikato as their king. Although the political power of the King was weakened at the end of a war against his forces from 1860 to 1865, the movement itself survived and flourished, and the incumbent monarch is recognized as a key figure in Maori affairs even by iwi which have remained outside the "Kingitanga".

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APPENDIX I

Aspects of Maori Language Use in Communities Surveyed

Listed below are the localities, towns and cities visited during the survey, along with the following information about each:

(a) Type of community & local government status 1971:

1. Rural community with a population of less than 500;
2. Rural "township", under 1,000 population, with no separate local government;
3. County towns & dependent town districts, population under 1,000;
4. Townships and boroughs, population 1,000-4,999;
5. Boroughs 5,000 to 19,999.
6. Provincial cities;
7. Towns, cities & suburbs within metropolitan Auckland & Wellington.

(b) Percentage Maori descent in total population, 1976.

(c) Largest iwi:
No annotation: the majority of the people surveyed belonged to the iwi named;
* More than a third but less than half belonged to the iwi named;
*+ One of two iwi with a third or more of people surveyed;
# No one iwi was claimed by a third or more of people surveyed.

(d) Number of households included in the 1973-79 survey;

(e) Percentage of households surveyed headed by two fluent speakers of Maori;

(f) Percentage of households surveyed headed by at least one fluent Maori speaker;

(g) Percentage of households where household heads were monolingual in English;

(h) Percentage of households reporting Maori as the language used most when all the family were together;

(i) Index of community ability to use Maori as everyday language:

This index consists of two figures. The first represents the distribution of fluent Maori speakers among age groups within the households surveyed, the second the distribution of individuals with a good understanding of Maori. The age groups taken into account were children (2-15 years old), young adults (16-24), adults (25-44), and those 45 and over at the time of the survey. A community with an index of 11 would be one in which Maori was spoken by almost every person of every age; a community with an index of 77 would be one in which the ability to speak and understand Maori was restricted to a few individuals or limited to one age group.

1.Very high distribution among all age groups;
2.Widespread (only slight weakening among younger groups);
3.Quite widespread (but noticeable decline among younger age groups);
4. Moderate (marked differences between younger and older age groups but communication in Maori still possible between many people at all levels);
5.Fairly limited (unevenly distributed, strong mainly among adults);
6.Low (absent or almost absent among younger groups);
7.Very low (confined largely to oldest group).

(j) The number of the report in the Community Report series (available from Te Wâhanga kaupapa Mâori, N.Z.C.E.R., P.O. Box 3237, Wellington, New Zealand) in which further information about the findings for this community can be found.

The various locatities are grouped according to the "geographic county" they were listed under in the 1971 census reports, except for the Greater Auckland and Greater Wellington areas. A figure in braces after a locality name indicates that several communities have been grouped together in this heading.

Locality	Type	Percent Maori	Iwi	Households Surveyed	Fluent Heads 2	Fluent Heads 1	Fluent Heads Rng	Family Use	Facility Index	Report No.
NORTHLAND										
MANGONUI COUNTY										
Te Hapua	1	85	Aupouri	5	50	100	0	50	52	25
Te Kao	1	80	Aupouri	22	31	100	0	31	52	25
Ngataki	1	81	Aupouri	5	50	100	0	50	52	25
Kareponia	1	63	Aupouri	5	100	100	0	0	73	115
Pamapuria	1	68	Rarawa	7	57	86	0	43	75	115
Pukepoto	1	55	Rarawa	5	25	75	0	25	73	115
Ahipara	2	68	Ngapuhi*+ Rarawa*+	20	50	100	0	21	73	115
Herekino {2}	1	52	#	5	33	67	0	0	76	124
Whangape	1	94	Rarawa	5	50	100	0	0	74	124
Awanui	2	52	Ngapuhi	10	0	80	10	10	73	115
KAITAIA	4	27	Ngapuhi	32	31	76	0	17	74	115
WHANGAROA COUNTY										
Kaeo {2}	2	25	Ngapuhi	27	19	77	4	12	75	34
Kahoe {3}	1	16	Ngapuhi	6	20	80	0	33	72	84
Matangirau	1	62	Ngapuhi	9	67	83	0	33	72	84
Matauri	1	59	Ngapuhi	9	50	88	0	38	72	84
Otangaroa	1	72	Ngapuhi	4	0	100	0	50	72	84
Otoroa	1	40	Ngapuhi	6	67	83	0	50	72	84
Pupuke {2}	1	56	Ngapuhi	15	67	99	0	33	72	84
Wainui	1	55	Ngapuhi	14	60	80	0	43	72	84
Waitaruke	1	66	Ngapuhi	5	100	100	0	67	41	84
HOKIANGA COUNTY										
Horeke {2}	1	61	Ngapuhi	6	0	50	0	0	74	125
Omanaia	1	80	Ngapuhi	5	25	100	0	75	74	125
Panguru {2}	1	90	Ngapuhi	25	47	94	0	53	41	28
Pawarenga	1	99	Aupouri	8	38	99	0	63	51	124
Waima	1	98	Ngapuhi	4	33	67	0	67	51	125
Whirinaki	1	71	Ngapuhi	4	25	99	0	50	72	125
Rawene	2	69	#	4	25	75	0	0	71	125
BAY OF ISLANDS COUNTY										
Karetu	1	59	Ngapuhi	11	33	56	0	0	75	49
Matawaia	1	66	Ngapuhi	14	40	99	0	99	31	14
Motatau {3}	1	70	Ngapuhi	26	48	99	0	71	51	23
Ngaiotonga	1	76	Ngapuhi	6	0	99	0	0	75	100
Okaihau	2	90	Ngapuhi	16	50	90	10	20	54	130
Ohaeawai	2	49	Ngapuhi	12	30	90	0	40	63	130
Oromahoe {3}	1	28	Ngapuhi	6	20	80	0	60	73	130
Otiria {3}	1	66	Ngapuhi	16	45	82	0	45	54	129
Waitangi	1	54	Ngapuhi	11	20	99	0	60	63	48
Puketi {2}	1	10	Ngapuhi	4	50	75	25	50	75	130
Tautoro	1	66	Ngapuhi	18	36	82	0	18	74	129

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Locality	Type	Percent Maori	Iwi	Households Surveyed	Fluent 2	Fluent 1	Heads Eng	Family Use	Facility Index	Report No.
Te Ahuahu	1	62	Ngapuhi	7	50	75	0	50	74	130
Te Tii (2)	1	80	Ngapuhi	19	65	99	0	67	31	24
Waihaha	1	81	Ngapuhi	12	38	88	0	37	74	36
Waiomio	1	92	Ngapuhi	16	69	92	0	54	73	39
Kerikeri	3	15	Ngapuhi	6	20	80	0	40	54	24
Moerewa (2)	4	52	Ngapuhi	30	48	80	0	44	74	40
Russell (2)	3	17	Ngapuhi	17	20	60	0	20	76	100
KAIKOHE	4	40	Ngapuhi	50	44	84	5	50	74	37
KAWAKAWA	4	36	Ngapuhi	22	22	72	6	17	74	50
WHANGAREI COUNTY										
Mangakahia (5)	1	30	Ngapuhi	13	25	63	0	0	74	134
Punaruku	1	83	Ngapuhi+ Ngati Wai+	5	50	75	0	25	76	100
Pipiwai	1	56	Ngapuhi	12	78	99	0	33	44	53
Whananaki	1	50	Ngapuhi+ Ngati Wai+	4	50	99	0	33	75	134
Hikurangi	4	28	Ngapuhi	14	56	78	11	11	74	134
Whangarei rural (4)	1	31	Ngapuhi	20	31	62	0	6	73	15
WHANGAREI CITY	6	12	Ngapuhi	100	23	68	6	12	74	15
WAIKATO										
FRANKLIN COUNTY										
Pokeno (4)	2	34	Waikato	13	45	72	0	18	73	143
Umupuia	1	80	#	9	40	80	0	20	53	106
PUKEKOHE (3)	5	17	Waikato	27	38	76	0	5	74	63
WAIUKU	4	15	Waikato	13	25	58	8	0	74	46
TUAKAU	4	28	Waikato	13	83	92	0	8	64	47
RAGLAN COUNTY										
Waahi (2)	4	87	Waikato	38	57	81	0	11	54	4
Raglan (2)	4	19	Waikato*	24	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	[145]
WAIKATO COUNTY										
Meremere	2	25	Waikato*	14	27	73	18	0	75	120
Taupiri	2	31	Waikato	14	30	50	0	0	75	120
Tauwhare	1	56	Ngati Haua	15	10	60	0	10	73	120
Maramarua	2	33	#	14	15	69	0	8	75	120
Kopuku	1	25	#	6	0	0	17	0	75	120
Te Kauwhata	3	19	Waikato	13	8	58	8	0	74	71
HUNTLY	5	23	Waikato*	31	28	60	0	0	75	70
CAMBRIDGE	5	8	#	17	37	69	4	0	74	65
WAIPA COUNTY										
Parawera (2)	1	53	Raukawa*+ Waikato*+	6	40	100	0	0	72	107
Whatawhata	1	47	Waikato	17	62	100	0	0	63	110
Horotiu	2	30	Waikato	9	25	75	0	0	74	55
HAMILTON CITY	6	12	#	146	19	54	5	2	74	96
KIHIKIHI	4	21	Maniapoto*+ Waikato*+	10	0	71	0	0	71	107
NGARUAWAHIA	4	41	Waikato	34	34	66	0	0	74	52
TE AWAMUTU	5	11	#	10	10	40	0	0	74	107

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Locality	Type	Percent Maori	Iwi	Households Surveyed	Fluent 2	Fluent 1	Heads Eng	Family Use	Facility Index	Report No.
OTOROHANGA COUNTY										
Kawhia {2}	3	30	Waikato	25	44	94	0	33	61	13
WAITOMO COUNTY										
Taharoa	1	99	Waikato	20	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	[146]
COROMANDEL COUNTY										
Coromandel {3}	3	26	Ngati Porou*	16	15	31	31	0	77	108
MATAMATA COUNTY										
Pinedale	1	72	Ngapuhi*	10	10	40	30	0	76	122
Te Poi	2	20	Raukawa	10	25	75	13	0	75	98
Tapapa	1	22	Raukawa	5	0	75	0	0	76	122
Okoroire	1	15	#	8	0	40	0	0	74	122
Waharoa	2	34	Ngati Haua	20	11	42	26	0	76	98
Tirau	3	24	#	17	7	57	14	0	77	122
TOKOROA	5	23	#	53	22	54	4	0	74	111
MATAMATA	5	9	#	22	28	44	17	0	75	98
PUTARURU	4	18	#	26	11	63	11	0	75	122
BAY OF PLENTY										
TAURANGA COUNTY										
Te Puna	2	32	Ngaiterangi	15	42	92	0	8	71	32
Matakana	1	77	Ngaiterangi	19	38	81	6	0	74	64
Manoeka	1	84	Arawa*	10	17	67	0	0	74	90
Rangiuru {4}	1	40	Arawa	16	75	84	0	0	74	29
Matapihi	1	72	Ngaiterangi	23	35	70	5	0	75	104
Te Maunga {2}	1	82	Ngaiterangi+ Te Arawa+	7	0	60	20	0	77	104
Rereatukahia	1	100	Ngaiterangi	9	44	67	11	0	72	105
Lower Kaimai	1	23	Ngaiterangi	7	14	57	0	0	75	105
Katikati	4	9	Ngaiterangi	15	18	55	0	0	75	105
Maketu	3	50	Arawa	23	26	48	9	0	75	20
TAURANGA CITY	6	12	Ngaiterangi	58	16	69	0	0	75	104
MOUNT MAUNGANUI	5	16	#	42	19	58	6	0	74	104
TE PUKE	4	22	Arawa	16	25	50	17	0	75	90
ROTORUA COUNTY										
Owhata	4	33	Arawa	35	34	69	3	13	74	123
Ngapuna	1	63	Arawa	22	50	78	0	0	75	77
Waipa Mill	1	54	Arawa*	25	9	26	22	0	75	126
Awahou	1	23	Arawa	9	29	57	0	0	74	123
Horohoro	1	60	Kahungunu	9	17	100	0	0	76	126
Kaingaroa Forest	2	30	#	25	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	[147]
Mourea	1	76	Arawa	25	23	55	9	14	76	9
Okere Falls	1	70	Arawa	20	26	68	5	11	75	123
Otaramarae	1	68	Arawa	9	50	50	0	25	71	123
Reporoa	2	26	Arawa*	18	33	44	17	6	75	117
Rotoiti {2}	1	85	Arawa	21	25	78	0	8	75	83
NGONGOTAHA	4	32	Arawa	28	24	56	8	0	74	78
ROTORUA CITY	6	23	Arawa	129	26	61	5	2	74	33

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Locality	Type	Percent Maori	Iwi	Households Surveyed	Fluent Heads 2	Fluent Heads 1	Fluent Heads Eng	Family Use	Facility Index	Report No.
WHAKATANE COUNTY										
Awakaponga (2)	1	38	Arawa	9	25	88	13	0	74	94
Kutarere	2	58	Tuhoe+ Whakatohea+	19	64	100	0	36	NA	91
Waimana Valley (5)	1	63	Tuhoe	15	55	82	0	82	31	103
Matahina (2)	1	50	Tuhoe*	13	45	55	9	9	74	27
Ngahina (2)	1	84	Tuhoe	24	61	99	0	76	31	17
Onepu	1	64	Tuwharetoa	18	69	94	0	19	42	41
Paroa	1	71	Ngati Awa*	15	46	85	0	15	73	42
Peketahi	1	45	Whakatohea	5	100	100	0	0	53	93
Piripai	1	56	Ngati Awa	16	45	91	0	9	64	43
Poroporo	1	63	Ngati Awa*	30	68	89	0	10	74	45
Ruatahuna	1	91	Tuhoe	28	50	94	0	32	51	18
Ruatoki (2)	1	89	Tuhoe	29	77	96	0	96	11	16
Te Teko	4	83	Ngati Awa	44	61	89	0	22	51	22
Thornton (3)	1	11	Ngati Awa*	13	40	60	10	10	74	102
Waimana	2	44	Tuhoe	28	76	99	0	32	41	38
Wainui	1	38	Tuhoe	5	33	33	0	0	62	91
Waiohau	1	92	Tuhoe	10	70	80	0	80	41	26
Matata	3	70	Arawa	14	10	80	0	0	74	94
Taneatua	3	75	Tuhoe*	13	70	80	20	50	53	93
Edgecumbe	4	30	#	16	38	77	0	0	74	102
KAWERAU	5	37	#	42	28	78	3	5	75	44
MURUPARA	4	73	Tuhoe*	54	37	71	6	14	74	85
WHAKATANE BORO.	5	27	#	75	44	84	0	8	73	92
OPOTIKI COUNTY										
Omaio (2)	1	88	Wh.-a-Apanui	11	38	100	0	13	51	127
Te Kaha	2	65	Wh.-a-Apanui	19	50	82	0	11	51	81
Torere	1	97	Ngai Tai	15	64	100	0	18	63	127
Waioeka Pa	1	89	Whakatohea*	9	13	75	0	13	71	127
Whangaparaoa	1	85	Wh.-a-Apanui	10	0	100	0	20	62	127
OPOTIKI BOROUGH	4	72	Whakatohea*	35	56	95	0	15	74	67
EAST COAST										
WAIAPU COUNTY										
Te Puia Springs	2	61	Ngati Porou	19	23	62	8	31	73	118
Ruatoria	2	91	Ngati Porou	37	56	96	0	48	73	87
Te Araroa (2)	2	71	Ngati Porou	20	54	99	0	46	72	30
Tikitiki	2	92	Ngati Porou	24	41	82	0	65	71	87
Horoera	1	99	Ngati Porou	5	40	99	0	80	72	30
Potaka	1	96	Ngati Porou	14	45	73	9	18	72	131
Waikura	1	88	Ngati Porou	5	40	100	0	0	41	131
Whakaangiangi	1	75	Ngati Porou	8	17	67	0	63	72	30
Rangitukia	1	90	Ngati Porou	20	53	93	0	73	61	21
Waiomatatini	1	95	Ngati Porou	6	33	99	0	33	73	87
Hiruharama	1	93	Ngati Porou	20	58	92	0	75	62	87
Makarika	1	75	Ngati Porou	9	38	99	0	25	63	87
Tokomaru Bay	2	68	Ngati Porou	35	28	64	20	24	74	118
Hikuwai (2)	1	68	Ngati Porou	6	20	60	20	20	74	118
Ihungia	1	52	Ngati Porou	5	40	40	0	20	76	118
Huiarua	1	48	Ngati Porou	8	13	75	0	0	74	118
Hicks Bay	1	64	Ngati Porou	15	46	77	0	15	73	31
Waipiro Bay	1	80	Ngati Porou	14	27	82	0	0	73	118

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Locality	Type	Percent Maori	Iwi	Households Surveyed	Fluent 2	Fluent 1	Heads Eng	Family Use	Facility Index	Report No.
WAIKOHU COUNTY										
Te Karaka	2	65	Ai.-a-Mahaki*	20	35	76	6	12	75	132
Puha	1	59	Ai.-a-Mahaki	7	33	33	0	0	75	132
Whatatutu	2	75	Ai.-a-Mahaki*	15	33	67	7	7	74	132
Matawai	2	23	#	10	25	63	0	13	75	132
COOK COUNTY										
Tolaga Bay	2	50	Ngati Porou	16	27	73	0	0	74	119
Hauiti (4)	1	66	Ngati Porou	19	50	83	0	17	74	119
Whangara	1	50	Ngati Porou	16	50	75	0	25	74	119
Patutahi	3	44	#	10	13	63	0	0	74	133
Manutuke	2	66	Rongowhakaata	35	30	74	0	0	74	133
Muriwai	1	48	Tau Manuhri*	15	10	80	0	10	74	133
GISBORNE CITY	6	23	Ngati Porou	147	33	79	5	6	74	35
CENTRAL NORTH ISLAND										
TAUMARUNUI COUNTY										
Waimiha	1	35	Maniapoto*	8	0	43	0	14	74	128
Kakahi	1	48	Tuwharetoa	2	50	50	50	50	74	135
National Park	2	28	#	10	22	22	22	0	77	135
Ngapuke	1	79	Tuwharetoa	15	25	75	0	17	76	69
Owhango	2	45	Tuwharetoa*	13	23	54	8	0	75	135
TAUMARUNUI BORO.	5	31	Maniapoto*	39	21	54	7	0	75	128
OHURA	4	20	#	10	25	50	0	0	75	128
MANUNUI	4	10	Tuwharetoa*	20	0	29	7	0	75	128
TAUPO COUNTY										
Atiamuri	2	55	#	10	10	30	0	10	76	140
Tokaanu (4)	1	44	Tuwharetoa	15	44	89	11	0	64	109
Turangi	4	48	Tuwharetoa*	62	32	71	3	9	74	109
Waitahanui	1	59	Tuwharetoa	9	12	75	0	0	NA	76
Whakamaru	1	25	Tuwharetoa*	2	50	100	0	0	NA	140
Mangakino	4	42	Waikato*	16	31	62	15	0	73	140
TAUPO BOROUGH	5	21	Tuwharetoa	61	26	60	2	0	74	76
HAWKES BAY & WAIRARAPA										
WAIROA COUNTY										
Mahia	1	70	Kahungunu	10	20	60	0	0	73	51
Nuhaka	2	61	Kahungunu	23	23	69	0	14	74	58
Opoutama	1	57	Kahungunu	7	99	99	0	0	73	51
Whakaki	1	89	Kahungunu	12	25	63	12	0	74	57
Rangiahua (7)	1	45	Tuhoe	24	56	94	0	56	72	114
Ruakituri	1	54	Kahungunu*	14	31	62	15	38	74	114
Frasertown	2	58	Kahungunu	15	17	58	0	0	74	114
Mohaka	1	67	Kahungunu	10	14	71	0	0	74	56
Raupunga	2	77	Kahungunu	17	29	79	0	7	75	59
WAIROA BOROUGH	5	35	Kahungunu	51	27	86	0	9	74	3

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Locality	Type	Percent Maori	Iwi	Households Surveyed	Fluent 2	Fluent 1	Heads Eng	Family Use	Facility Index	Report No.
HAWKES BAY COUNTY										
Bay View	4	14	Kahungunu	9	0	22	22	0	75	142
Haumoana	4	25	Kahungunu	20	27	60	7	13	76	54
Kohupatiki (2)	1	43	Kahungunu	14	25	50	12	0	76	68
Pakipaki	1	65	Kahungunu	28	8	33	8	0	75	8
Omahu	1	67	Kahungunu	28	28	72	8	16	74	5
Bridge Pa	1	75	Kahungunu	26	5	37	5	0	74	11
Ngatarawa	1	50	Kahungunu	8	0	33	16	0	74	11
Moteo	1	77	Kahungunu	6	0	40	0	0	74	138
Runanga Pa	1	100	Kahungunu	8	14	86	0	14	75	138
Te Haroto	1	48	Tuwharetoa	4	25	100	0	50	75	138
Waiohiki	1	56	Kahungunu	14	8	46	8	0	75	138
Waimarama	1	21	Kahungunu	8	0	33	3	0	74	112
Te Hauke	1	84	Kahungunu	18	14	50	0	0	74	10
Pukehou	1	61	Kahungunu	18	13	40	33	7	74	113
NAPIER CITY	6	13	Kahungunu*	78	9	32	18	1	75	142
HASTINGS CITY										
Flaxmere	6	36	Kahungunu	28	4	28	12	0	75	86
Rest of City	6	21	Kahungunu	94	18	49	10	9	75	86
HAVELOCK NORTH	5	8	Kahungunu	24	0	55	10	0	75	112
PATANGATA COUNTY										
Porongahau	3	56	Kahungunu	17	6	38	13	0	76	61
AKITIO COUNTY										
Pongaroa	1	20	Kahungunu*	15	7	43	14	0	76	73
MASTERTON COUNTY										
MASTERTON	5	12	Kahungunu	51	2	30	18	0	76	74
FEATHERSTON COUNTY										
Greytown (2)	4	10	Kahungunu	10	11	78	11	0	75	72
TARANAKI										
TARANAKI COUNTY										
Okato	3	18	Ati Awa	6	0	0	20	0	77	7
WAITARA BOROUGH	5	24	Ati Awa	30	15	45	5	0	75	75
NEW PLYMOUTH CITY	6	4	#	58	7	42	9	7	75	7
EGMONT COUNTY										
OPUNAKE	4	20	Taranaki*	12	0	38	12	0	75	66
PATEA COUNTY										
PATEA BOROUGH	4	33	Nga Rauru*	22	10	43	10	0	75	82
WAVERLEY	4	23	Nga Rauru	42	14	43	5	8	74	1

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Locality	Type	Percent Maori	Iwi	Households Surveyed	Fluent Heads 2	Fluent Heads 1	Eng	Family Use	Facility Index	Report No.
WANGANUI & RANGITIKEI										
WAITOTARA COUNTY										
WANGANUI CITY										
Castlecliffe	6	22	#	19	6	41	0	0	75	116
Rest of City	6	20	#	20	25	67	8	8	74	116
WANGANUI COUNTY										
Wanganui River {4}	1	73	#	13	17	67	0	0	76	116
Putiki	2	61	#	16	0	56	0	0	75	116
RANGITIKEI COUNTY										
Rata	1	15	Tuwharetoa	6	0	33	0	0	74	141
Kauangaroa	1	24	Nga Wairiki	3	0	50	0	0	74	141
Ratana	3	98	#	25	20	50	0	0	74	79
BULLS	4	8	Raukawa	16	9	36	0	0	75	141
TAIHAPE {2}	4	25	Tuwharetoa*	25	6	56	0	0	76	141
MARTON	4	17	Tuwharetoa*	28	5	14	19	0	76	141
MANAWATU & HOROWHENUA										
OROUA COUNTY										
FEILDING	5	14	#	25	13	43	22	0	76	136
FOXTON COUNTY										
FOXTON BOROUGH	4	20	Raukawa	26	11	39	28	0	75	80
KAIRANGA COUNTY										
Te Arakura	1	19	Raukawa	5	20	80	0	0	76	89
PALMERSTON NORTH	6	7	#	49	10	61	17	0	76	89
HOROWHENUA COUNTY										
Otaki Rural {3}	1	30	Raukawa	24	6	35	18	0	76	2
Shannon	4	24	#	20	0	26	32	0	75	121
OTAKI	4	20	Raukawa	26	11	56	11	0	75	2
METROPOLITAN AUCKLAND										
NORTHERN AUCKLAND URBAN AREA										
North Shore {5}	7	5	Ngapuhi*	47	21	61	3	13	74	101
Glenfield	7	16	Ngapuhi	30	36	82	7	11	64	101
WESTERN AUCKLAND URBAN AREA										
Henderson {3}	7	10	Ngapuhi	25	23	64	0	14	74	99
Kelston {3}	7	10	Ngapuhi	34	14	50	11	11	75	99
Te Atatu	7	12	Ngapuhi*	53	35	74	2	4	75	62
Massey {3}	7	14	Ngapuhi*	34	17	60	10	0	76	99

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Locality	Type	Percent Maori	Iwi	Households Surveyed	Fluent 2	Fluent 1	Heads Eng	Family Use	Facility Index	Report No.
CENTRAL AUCKLAND URBAN AREA										
Auckland Cntrl (3)	7	12	Ngapuhi	71	33	70	4	17	74	140
Auckland West	7	8	Ngapuhi	50	31	76	7	14	74	140
Auckland E (10)	7	9	Ngapuhi*	78	35	84	2	12	74	140
Orakei	7	4	Ngti Whatua	33	25	50	8	0	74	140
Mt Albert	7	9	Ngapuhi	28	26	63	5	11	74	140
Mount Eden (2)	7	7	Ngapuhi*	29	29	64	14	29	74	140
Mt. Roskill	7	7	Ngapuhi*	32	22	78	9	17	74	140
Onehunga (2)	7	10	Ngapuhi*	41	28	83	3	34	74	140
Mount Wellington	7	16	Ngapuhi	65	41	76	4	8	74	140
SOUTHERN AUCKLAND AREA										
Pakuranga (2)	7	5	Ngapuhi*	33	9	56	13	0	77	106
Otara	7	35	Ngapuhi	154	29	71	4	3	74	19
Mangere	7	36	Ngapuhi*	133	26	70	3	8	75	95
Manurewa	7	13	Ngapuhi*	103	25	67	10	4	74	137
Otahuhu	7	18	Ngapuhi	18	33	75	0	25	74	95
Papatoetoe	7	9	Ngapuhi*	34	32	68	0	8	74	95
Papakura	7	18	Ngapuhi*+ Waikato*+	47	27	66	2	5	74	60
METROPOLITAN WELLINGTON										
UPPER HUTT URBAN AREA										
Upper Hutt	7	8	#	27	18	53	12	0	75	97
LOWER HUTT URBAN AREA										
Lower Hutt City	7	8	#	67	23	63	12	4	76	97
Petone	7	16	#	23	20	60	13	0	64	97
Wainuiomata	7	8	Ngati Porou*	39	36	69	8	0	64	12
PORIRUA URBAN AREA										
Porirua & Tawa	7	19	#	123	20	58	12	4	75	6
WELLINGTON URBAN AREA										
Wellington Central	7	10	#	20	9	82	0	0	74	97
Wellington South	7	10	#	36	17	43	4	0	74	97
Wellington East	7	6	#	20	18	64	0	0	74	97
Wellington North	7	4	#	23	5	41	0	0	74	97
Wellington West	7	4	#	11	14	57	0	0	74	97

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APPENDIX II

Maps Showing Districts and Localities Mentioned in the Text

Map 1: North Island Regions and Counties, 1975

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Map 2: New Local Government Boundaries, North Island, 1990

Map 3: North Island Urban Areas and Local Government Regions, 1975